MINUTES

OF THE

TWENTY-FIRST BIENNIAL

AMERICAN CONVENTION

FOR PROMOTING THE

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY,

AND IMPROVING

THE CONDITION OF THE AFRICAN RACE.

Convened at the City of Washington,
December 8, A. D. 1829.

AND AN

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

THE ADDRESSES FROM VARIOUS SOCIETIES,

TOGETHER WITH THE

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE CONVENTION.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE CONVENTION.

THOMAS B. TOWN, PR.

1829.

DUPLICATE
EXCHANGED

MINUTES, &c.

CITY HALL,

Washington, December 8th, 1829.

10 o'clock, A. M.

At a stated session of the twenty-first biennial, "American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African Race,"

Joseph Parker, Esq. being called to the chair, and Samuel C. Sheppard, appointed Secretary, pro tempore;

Credentials were presented and read, by which it appeared that the following gentlemen were elected by their respective societies, Delegates to compose this Convention, viz.

By the New York Manumission Society.

Charles Walker, Esq. James Oswald Grim, Esq.
Edmund Haviland.

By the Pennsylvania Society, for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c.

William Rawle, Esq. L.L.D. Charles S. Cope, Esq.
Jonas Preston, M. D. Thomas Earle, Esq.
David Weatherly, John Bouvier, Esq.
Joseph Parker, Esq. Samuel C. Sheppard,
James Mott, Thomas Ridgway.

By the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania.

Joseph Parish, M. D. Edwin P. AtLee, M. D.
Henry M. Zollickoffer, Charles Noble, M. D.

By the National Anti-Slavery Tract Society of Maryland.

Benjamin Lundy, Rev. William Kesly,
John Needles, William R. Jones.

Carnegie Corp. Museum Book Co. 12-17-47 Lebn

By the Washington City Abolition Society.

John M'Clelland,	Henry Barron,
Ulysses Ward,	Joseph C. Dawes,
Jacob Janney,	John M'Leod,
Robert P. Anderson,	George Crandell,
Matthew Hines,	Thomas Levering.

By the Benevolent Society of Alexandria for improving the condition of People of Colour.

Thomas Jacobs,	George Drinker,
Samuel Cornelius,	Samuel M. Janney,
Jonathan Janney,	Benjamin Hallowell.
Townshend Waugh,	

Of whom the following were present, viz.

E. Haviland, J. Parker, D. Weatherly, C. S. Cope, S. C. Sheppard, B. Lundy, J. M'Clelland, and T. Levering.

It being understood that several Delegates were on their way to the city, no further business was transacted,

Adjourned to 7 o'clock, P. M.

December 8th, 7 o'clock, P. M.

Present, 17 Delegates, viz. Messrs. Haviland, Parker, Weatherly, Cope, Sheppard, Lundy, Jones, M'Clelland, Ward, Jacob Janney, Anderson, Barron, Dawes, M'Leod, Levering, Drinker, and Hallowell.

On motion of B. Lundy, *Resolved*, That this Convention be held with open doors, and that spectators be admitted at all times during its sittings.

The Convention having, on motion, proceeded to an election of officers, the following were accordingly elected, viz.

PRESIDENT, William Rawle, Esq. L. L. D.
VICE PRESIDENT, Joseph Parker, Esq.
SECRETARIES, { Robert P. Anderson, Charles S. Cope,
TREASURER, Jonas Preston, M. D.

The following gentlemen were appointed the Committee of Arrangement to prepare the proper business of the Convention, viz. Messrs. Lundy, Jones, Hallowell, Cope, and M'Clelland.

The Treasurer's account was presented, read and referred to Messrs. Sheppard and Cope for examination.

An address from the New York Manumission Society was presented and read.

Ordered, That the stated hour of meeting in the forenoon shall be 10 o'clock.—Adjourned.

December 9th, 1829, 10 *o'clock, A. M.*

Present, Vice President Parker in the chair, and 18 Delegates, viz. Messrs Haviland, Walker, Grim, Weatherly, Earle, Cope, Sheppard, Lundy, Kesly, Needles, Jones, M'Clelland, Ward, Jacob Janney, Anderson, Barron, Dawes, and Levering.

Addresses from the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c. from the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania, from the National Anti-Slavery Tract Society of Maryland, from the Washington City Abolition Society, from the Benevolent Society of Alexandria, and from the Board of Managers of the Manumission Society of North Carolina, were severally presented and read.

On motion, the above addresses and also the one from the New York Manumission Society were referred to the committee of arrangement, with instructions to said committee to report what parts of the addresses may require the particular attention of the Convention.

Thomas Earle and William Kesly were, on motion, added to the committee of arrangement.

A Report from the Acting Committee, together with their minutes, was presented and read; and the following extract from their proceedings directed to be entered on the minutes, viz.

The committee appointed to procure and present to the

pupils of the African Free School in New York, the books directed at the last session of the Convention, respectfully report,

That the books were presented on the 5th of 5th month (May) last, by one of the committee in company with Edmund Haviland, a member of the Convention. A short address was delivered to the scholars on the occasion, encouraging them to persevere in exhibiting to a prejudiced world, that Africans do possess talents when properly cultivated.

The presentation of these volumes was apparently much to the gratification of the boys interested, as well as to the whole school. It is believed also, that the teacher Charles C. Andrews, was much gratified and grateful that the school had been thus honourably noticed by the American Convention.

(Signed) JOSEPH PARKER.

On behalf of the committee.

Philadelphia, 8th mo. 25, 1829.

To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African Race.

The Acting Committee in resigning to their successors, the responsible duties of their appointment, deem it proper to submit an abstract of their labours; and to advert to a few of the subjects which will probably engage the attention of the Convention at its approaching Session.

Agreeably to the instruction of the Convention, the committee soon after its appointment subscribed for fifty copies of Stroud's Sketch of the Laws relating to Slavery; upon which the Author presented to the committee a like number of copies of the same work. They also subscribed for two copies of the Freedom's Journal, and five copies of the Afri-

can Observer; the publication of both of which has been some time discontinued.

The Minutes of the late Session of the Convention have been printed as directed by that body; also an address to the people of the United States, and both of them partially distributed. The remaining copies have not been forwarded for want of proper opportunities to do so.

A circular letter was prepared and forwarded to societies in England favourable to African Freedom. A short notice of its reception has been received from the African Institution indicating a desire to co-operate with us in our labours. As this was written by the secretary previous to our circular being laid before the Institution, the committee entertain a hope that a more general expression of their views will be received hereafter.

An address to the free people of colour in the United States was prepared and 3000 copies printed in pamphlet form. In the City of Philadelphia considerable pains was taken to disseminate it, and a part of the edition was sent to New York, but a considerable number of copies remain to be circulated.

Since the last Convention, the members of this committee residing in Philadelphia, have been engaged at different periods in preparing and circulating Memorials to Congress and the Legislature of Pennsylvania to procure the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia; and although the object has not yet been attained, the public mind has been enlightened and the committee would recommend that the subject be kept constantly in public view until it is effected.

The situation of the State of Delaware, as a Slave State, with a small slave population claimed the attention of the committee, but no suitable opening for their exertions has yet offered, further than a correspondence with some of the citizens of that State. From the well known character of the Governor the committee are induced to hope that the deplorable evil of slavery will engage his attention and his

influence be exerted to procure its extinction. In order that the subject may be brought before the next meeting of the Legislature, the sub-committee charged with that subject have addressed a letter accompanied by some documents, to a distinguished Citizen of that State, requesting him to promote that object. We would respectfully invite the attention of the Convention to this important subject.

The committee have to regret that owing to the cupidity and prejudice of some persons in the State of Ohio, the coloured population of that State have been cruelly and unjustly required to remove from within its boundaries, unless they give security to prevent their becoming chargeable to the public. The consequence has been to many a great sacrifice of their property and a most heavy affliction to their families.—Thus while in several of the Slave holding States, societies to ameliorate the condition of the African have been greatly increasing, the citizens of a free community refuse even to shelter a man with a darker hue than themselves. May we not hope that the enlightened citizens of that great State will shortly efface this iniquitous law from their statute book.

The education of the children of the free people of colour has always been a prominent object with the Convention. The committee have the pleasure to state that the opportunities for their instruction are increasing. Several schools in the city of Philadelphia have been visited by members of the committee, where about nine hundred children are now receiving education free of expense and about three hundred are instructed in pay schools nearly all of which are taught by coloured persons. In the school of the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the abolition of Slavery, &c. girls only, are at present admitted, but the society have it in contemplation to establish a school for boys, in which the higher branches of an elementary education will be taught.

The committee most heartily congratulate the Convention on the late edict of the Mexican Goverment by which slavery is forever abolished in that country, and they believe

that the benevolent exertions of the British Goverment to ameliorate the condition of the slaves in their colonies and to elevate the condition of the free people of colour will have a salutary effect on the minds of slave holders and others in the United States.

The secretary of this committee has under his care, subject to the direction of the convention, a few copies of Stroud's Sketch of the Laws relating to Slavery, and of the abridgement of Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, together with several copies of the minutes of late sessions of the Convention.

By direction of the Acting Committee of the American Convention for promoting the abolition of slavery and improving the condition of the African race.

THOMAS SHIPLEY, Chairman.

ISAAC BARTON, Secretary.

Philadelphia, December 3d, 1829.

On motion of E. Haviland, *Resolved,* That a committee of five be appointed to prepare and report rules and regulations for the government of the convention; and Messrs. Haviland, Jones, Waugh, Weatherly, and Dawes were accordingly appointed.

A report from the Committee of Arrangement was read and laid on the table.

Mr. Kesly from the Committee on the State of Slavery in the United States, made a report, which was considered for some time, and on motion of B. Lundy, laid on the table.—Adjourned to 7 o'clock, P. M.

December 9th, 7 o'clock, P. M.

Present, Vice President Parker in the chair, and twenty Delegates, viz. Messrs. Haviland, Walker, Grim, Weatherly, Earle, Cope, Sheppard, Lundy, Needles, Kesly, Jones, M'Clelland, Ward, Jacob Janney, Anderson, Barron, McLeod, Dawes, Crandell and Waugh.

B. Lundy from the committee appointed to procure information in relation to the culture of sugar, cotton, &c. by free labour, made a report, which was read, and on motion of Mr. Kesly referred back to the committee for revision and condensation.

The following resolution offered by the Committee of Arrangement was now considered, viz.

Resolved, That this convention memorialize congress for the gradual abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

The resolution having been debated for some time, its farther consideration, was on motion of Mr. M'Clelland, postponed till to-morrow.

That part of the New-York Address relating to the purchase of Texas, was on motion of Mr. Haviland referred to a committee of the whole.

The following report was read and accepted, viz.

To the American Convention.—The committee appointed to examine the Treasurer's account, report, That they have attended to the duty assigned them and find the same correct; there being a balance of $ 37 26 due the Treasurer.

S. C. Sheppard,
Charles S. Cope, } *Committee.*

Dec. 9, 1829.

DR. THE AMERICAN CONVENTION IN ACCOUNT WITH JONAS PRESTON, TREASURER. CR.

1827.				1828.			
10th mo. 30.	To cash paid John Letchworth,		$ 10 00	10th mo. 24.	By balance from last account,		$ 53 70
11th " 10.	Do	Dr. E. P. AtLee,	3 15	2d " 25.	By cash of Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland,		25 00
12th " 7.	Do	Enoch Lewis,	10 00	3d " 22.	Do.	Pennsylvania Abolition Society,	50 00
" " 11.	Do.	Geo. M. Stroud, Esq.	50 00	10th " 23.	Do.	N. York Manumission Society,	50 00
1828.				11th " 17.	Do.	Virginia Convention,	10 00
1st mo. 25.	Do.	Freedom's Journal,	5 00	" " 18.	By 2 dividends, Bank of Philadelphia, $ 20 and $ 16,		36 00
2d " 25.	Do.	Benjamin Lundy,	81 98	1829.			
3d " 27.	Do.	Joseph Marot,	4 50	3d mo. 27.	By cash of Pennsylvania Abolition Society,		30 00
5th " 17.	Do.	Benjamin Lundy,	5 00	11th " 18.	By 2 dividends, Bank of Philadelphia, $ 20 each,		40 00
1829.				12th " 26.	By balance due Treasurer,		37 26
1st mo. 12.	Do.	D. & S. Neal,	1 50				
2d " 9.	Do.	Freedom's Journal,	5 00				
" " 27.	Do.	James Y. Humphreys,	43 12				
3d " 3.	Do.	Samuel Parker,	56 66				
4th " 25.	Do.	Samuel Marot,	8 12				
7th " 10.	Do.	Bennet & Walton,	3 04				
8th " 26.	Do.	Samuel Parker,	14 00				
" " "	Do.	Joseph Parker,	10 39				
9th " 15.	Do.	S. C. Atkinson,	20 00				
		Dolls.	331 96			Dolls.	331 96

E. E. Philadelphia, 11th mo. 26, 1829. J. PRESTON.

During the sittings of the Convention the presiding officer received the following sums assessed by the Convention last year, viz.

From the Baltimore Protection Society,	$	10 00
" Washington City Abolition Society,		10 00
" Benevolent Society of Alexandria,		10 00
" North Carolina Manumission Society,		5 00

The following gentlemen were appointed a committee to ascertain what sum may be necessary to be raised to defray the current expenses of the Convention, and to apportion the same to the respective societies, viz. Messrs. Walker, Earle, Needles, M'Clelland, and Waugh.

Mr. Earle offered the following, viz.

Whereas but small progress has, of late years, been made in the work of Emancipation, and it is an object of high moment that the purposes for which this Convention was instituted be accelerated as far as practicable; therefore

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to enquire and report what are the principal schemes that have been suggested for effecting the abolition of slavery in the United States, or improving the condition of the African race; what would be the probable effect of each measure if concurred in; and which of the proposed modes is most likely in the present or probably approaching disposition of the public mind, to be effectively adopted.

The above preamble and resolution were adopted and referred to Messrs. Earle, Grim, M'Clelland, Waugh, and S. M. Janney.—Adjourned.

December 10th, 1829, 10 *o'clock, A. M.*

Present, Vice President Parker in the chair, and twenty Delegates, viz. Messrs. Haviland, Walker, Grim, Weatherly, Earle, Cope, Sheppard, Lundy, Needles, Kesly, Jones, M'Clelland, Barron, Dawes, Anderson, Jacob Janney, Crandell, Waugh, Drinker, and S. M. Janney.

Mr. Haviland from the committee to prepare Rules for the government of the Convention, made a report which was read

and accepted; and the regulations submitted were adopted as the By-Laws of the Convention. (vide Appendix, Part 2, No. 2.)

The Committee of Arrangement made a second report, which was read and laid on the table.

The following resolution offered by the Committee of Arrangement was adopted, viz.

Resolved, That the several addresses, from the various Manumission, Anti-Slavery Societies, &c. be published with the Minutes of the Convention.

The following resolution offered by the Committee of Arrangement, was, after some debate, referred to a committee of the whole, viz.

Resolved, That this Convention memorialize Congress on the Internal Slave Trade.

On motion, the Convention went into committee of the whole, Mr. Sheppard in the chair, on the subject of memorializing Congress on the gradual abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

On the rising of the committee, the chairman reported, that they had resolved, That it was expedient to adopt the resolution offered by the Committee of Arrangement; which report was concurred in by the Convention.

On the question of concurring, the ayes and nays being called for, were as follows, viz.

Ayes—Messrs. Parker, Weatherly, Earle, Cope, Sheppard, Kesly, Lundy, Jones, Needles, Waugh, Barron, Dawes, Jacob Janney, Anderson and Crandell.—15.

Nays.—Messrs. Walker, Grim, M'Clelland, Drinker, and S. M. Janney.—5.

The resolution was accordingly adopted; and Messrs. Kesly, Lundy, Jones, Earle and Walker were appointed a committee to draft a memorial in conformity thereto.

Mr. Grim offered the following: viz.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to draft a memorial to the Legislatures of the several States, urging upon them the propriety of instructing their senators and request-

ing their representatives in the Congress of the United States, to use their endeavors to procure the passage of a law providing for the gradual abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

The above resolution was adopted and Messrs. Grim, S. M. Janney, M'Clelland, Haviland and Jones appointed the committee.

On motion of Mr. Grim, *Resloved,* That it be recommended to the several societies represented in this convention to prepare and circulate memorials for the signatures of the citizens of the states in which such societies are located, praying the legislatures thereof to instruct their senators, and request their representatives in Congress, to use their endeavors to procure the passage of a law, providing for the gradual abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.—Adjourned to 7 o'clock, P. M.

December 10th, 7 o'clock, P. M.

Present, Vice President Parker in the chair and 18 Delegates, viz. Messrs. Haviland, Walker, Grim, Earle, Cope, Sheppard, Lundy, Kesly, Needles, Jones, M'Clelland, Ward, Jacob Janney, Anderson, Dawes, Barron, M'Leod, and Waugh.

The two following amendments, offered at the last session and brought up in the report of the Committee of Arrangement, were considered and adopted, viz.

Resolved, That the Constitution be so amended that the first section of article second, read as follows, "meet biennially in the City of Washington, D. C. on the second Monday in January."

Resolved, That so much of the Constitution in article third, section fourth as reads thus "one of them shall reside in Philadelphia and have charge of the records," shall be stricken out.

The following amendment was negatived, viz.

Resolved, That after the word "President" article third

section first in the Constitution, the word three be added, so as to read "three Vice Presidents, &c."

The report on the state of Slavery in the United States was called up, debated at length, and again laid on the table.

On motion of Mr. Lundy, *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to prepare an address to the public on the objects and present prospects of this Convention. And Messrs. Lundy, M'Leod, and Needles were accordingly appointed.

Messrs. Dawes, Sheppard and Jones were appointed a committee to prepare an address to the various Manumission and Anti-Slavery societies, &c.

On motion, the Convention went into committee of the whole, Mr. Needles in the chair, on the subject of memorializing Congress on the Internal Slave Trade.

On the rising of the committee the chairman reported progress and asked leave to sit again; which was not granted by the Convention.

The Resolution as offered by the Committee of Arrangement was then adopted, viz.

Resolved, That this Convention memorialize Congress on the Internal Slave Trade.

On motion of Mr. Haviland, the committee appointed to prepare a memorial to Congress for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, was instructed to incorporate the above subject in the memorial.—Adjourned.

December 11th, 1829. 10 *o'clock, A. M.*

Present, Vice President Parker in the chair and 22 Delegates, viz. Messrs. Haviland, Walker, Grim, Weatherly, Earle, Cope, Sheppard, Lundy, Needles, Kesly, Jones, M'Clelland, Ward, Anderson, Barron, Dawes, M'Leod, Jacob Janney, Thomas Jacobs, Waugh, Drinker and Hallowell.

The Committee of Arrangement made a third and final report which was read and laid on the table.

The following report was read and accepted, viz.

To the American Convention,—The committee appointed to procure information in relation to the culture of sugar, cotton, &c. on this continent by free labor,

Respectfully State,—That owing to the inadequacy of the means to make the requisite investigations, your committee has not been able since the last session of the Convention to acquire much information of any farther general facts. The following notice of the cultivation of sugar in Mexico, to which your committee then briefly adverted has been obtained through the medium of the London Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter for August, 1829. It is an extract of a letter from Mr. Ward, Mexican Envoy of the British Government to the Right Honourable George Canning, viz.

Mexico, March 13, 1826.

"SIR,—The possibility of introducing a system of free labour into the West India Islands having been so much discussed in England, I conceived that it might not be uninteresting to His Majesty's Government to receive some details respecting the result of the experiment in this country, where it certainly has had a fair trial.

"I accordingly took advantage of Mr. Morier's prolonged stay here to visit the Valley of Cuernavaca, and Cuantla Amilpas, which supplies a great part of the federation with sugar and coffee, although not a single slave is at present employed in their cultivation.

"I have the honour to inclose a sketch of [illegible]bservations which I was enabled to make upon this journey, together with such details as I have thought best calculated to shew both the scale upon which these estates are worked, and the complete success with which the abolition of slavery has, in this instance been attended.

"The valley which extends almost uninterruptedly from Cuernavaca to Cuantla Amilpas and Jyncar, (covering a space of about forty miles,) is situated on the road to Acapul-

co, at the foot of the first range of mountains by which the descent from the Table Land towards the south-west commences, about fifty miles from the Capital.

"It is about 2,000 feet lower than the Table Land of Mexico. The difference of temperature is proportionably great, so that two days are sufficient to transport the traveller into the very midst of Tierra Caliente.

"It is believed that the sugar-cane was first planted there about one hundred years ago; from that time the number of sugar-estates has gone on increasing, until there is now hardly an acre of ground on the whole plain which is not turned to account.

"The cultivation was originally carried on entirely by slaves, who were purchased at Vera Cruz, at from 300 to 400 dollars each.

"It was found, however, that this system was attended with considerable inconvenience, it being impossible to secure a sufficient supply of slaves during a war. The losses likewise, at all times, were great, as many of the slaves were unable to support the fatigue and changes of temperature, to which they were exposed on the journey from Vera Cruz to Cuernavaca, and perished, either on the road, or soon after their arrival.

"Several of the great proprietors were induced by these circumstances to give liberty to a certain number of their slaves annually, and by encouraging marriages between them and the Indians of the country, to propagate a race of free labourers, who might be employed when a supply of slaves was no longer to be obtained.

"This plan proved so eminently successful that on some of the largest estates there was not a single slave in the year 1808.

"The policy of the measure became still more apparent on the breaking out of the revolution in 1810.

"The planters who had not adopted the system of gradual emancipation before that period saw themselves abandoned, and were forced, in many instances, to give up working

their estates, as their slaves took advantage of the approach of the insurgents to join them en masse; while those who had provided themselves with a mixed cast of free labourers, retained, even during the worst times, a sufficient number of men to enable them to continue to cultivate their lands, although upon a smaller scale."

The same work for September 1829, speaking of free and slave labour, remarks.

"The controversy is fast tending to its termination. The march of events will scarcely leave room much longer, either for misrepresentation or misapprehension. The facilities already given in Bengal by Lord W. Bentinck, to the investment of British capital and the development of British skill in the cultivation of the soil; the almost certainty that those fiscal regulations which have hitherto depressed the growth of sugar in Bengal, and prevented the large increase of its imports into this country, will soon be repealed; the prospect of an early removal of the other restrictions which still fetter the commerce of our Eastern possessions: the rapidly increasing population and prosperity of Hayti; the official statements of Mr. Ward, as to the profitable culture of sugar by free labour in Mexico; and the rapid extension of the manufacture of beet root sugar in France; a prelude as we conceive, to its introduction into this country, and especially into Ireland; all these circumstances combined, afford a promise which can scarcely fail of seeing a death blow inflicted on the culture of sugar by slave-labour, which all the misrepresentations of all the slave holders in the world, with all their clamorous partisans in this country cannot avert, or even long retard."

Since their views have been directed to the subject, your committee are fully satisfied that its further investigation will be highly important; and that at no very distant period, *the results of very interesting experiments nearer home may be obtained.*

Respectfully Submitted,

B. LUNDY, Chairman.

Baltimore, December 1, 1829.

On motion, the committee was continued with instructions to report to the next Convention; Samuel M. Janney and John Needles were appointed on the committee in place of the gentlemen not present at this Convention; and the committee now consists of Messrs. Lundy, Parker, Kesly, S. M. Janney and Needles.

The subject of the purchase of Texas, referred to a committee of the whole, being brought before the Convention, said reference was, on motion of Mr. Haviland, rescinded, and the subject recommended to the particular attention of the Acting Committee.

The resolution relative to publishing books, &c. laid over from the last session, and brought up in the report of the Committee of Arrangement, was now considered and having been amended, was adopted, viz.

Resolved, That any surplus funds in the Treasury may be appropriated by the Acting Committee to the publishing of books, pamphlets and tracts, that may have a tendency to enlighten and correct public opinion on the subject of Slavery in the United States, and the said committee is requested to select, publish and distribute them as they may judge expedient.

Mr. Dawes from the committee appointed for the purpose, reported an Address, which being amended, was adopted as follows.

To the Manumission, Anti-Slavery Societies, &c. throughout the United States.

Fellow Citizens,—The American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c. now sitting at Washington, in the District of Columbia, having seriously taken into consideration the state of slavery in the said district, and in the United States generally, and viewed what furtherance the cause of freedom has received for some time past, are decidedly of opinion, that increasing efforts are at this time, emphatically called for, on the part of those who really think that "all men are created free and equal."

Memorial after memorial has been presented to Congress, but as yet they have produced but little visible effect. Small progress has been made towards abolishing slavery at the seat of our National Government. It has been a subject of much reflection what measures would be most likely to accomplish the grand object of our labours; and we would suggest whether greater success would not be likely to crown our efforts, by more widely disseminating a knowledge of the objects and principles of the different Anti-Slavery Societies throughout the Union. The subject has been referred at this session to our Acting Committee, but our funds are too limited to act as extensively as the great importance of the object requires. It is believed that a very large portion of the citizens of the United States are favorable to the emancipation of the people of colour, if it could be done upon legitimate principles, without infringing upon the rights of individuals or endangering the safety of the community; and if the dissemination of our principles was more generally attended to, co-adjuting societies would doubtless increase, and this Convention eventually become a body so numerous and respectable, that the National Government would not withhold its attention.

The proper education of the African race should form a prominent feature in all our efforts. It is with much gratification we are enabled to state that the address from New York, mentions a continued advancement in the literary improvement of the coloured children, and that from Philadelphia holds out the prospect of the establishment of a school for teaching them the higher branches of an English education and thus enabling them to act as teachers of their own isolated race. To break up the fallow ground, to sow the seed, and rear the tender plants of virtue in this degraded people, should be the wish of every heart and the effort of every hand. Let us establish schools, instruct the children, and show to the world that the mind of the African is not a soil where genius sickens and every virtue dies.

When we reflect that man is a being whose own interest

generally forms the alpha and omega, beginning and end of life, a centre around which every passion and affection of his heart revolves, a boundary beyond which he seldom ventures, we are rather encouraged at the progress of our cause, than deterred by the magnitude of the work to be yet accomplished. Have not thousands been liberated, and the condition of tens of thousands improved? We believe there is a secret fire enkindled in the public bosom which will never be extinguished, until liberty be given to the captive and freedom to the oppressed. But this glorious principle needs to be encouraged and kept alive by the increasing efforts of its friends, to show to the world that they themselves are not weary of well-doing. Prejudices imbibed in youth and strengthened by age are to be broken down, and many an objection to be overcome.

In conclusion we would remark that although much censure has been cast upon us, we are renewedly convinced of the goodness and the justice of our cause. Let us exhort you to a patient continuance in your labours; and "the bread cast upon the waters, shall be found after many days."

The following Memorial was reported by Mr. Kesly, and having been amended, was adopted as follows:

To the Hon. the Senate and House of Representative, of the United States, in Congress assembled.

The Memorial of the American Convention, &c,

Respectfully Sheweth—That your memorialists, citizens of the United States, feel grateful to that Divine Providence, who hath so gloriously protected this nation in the enjoyment of all the privileges of freemen; and whose parental care still preserves to us untrammelled, the right of conscience, and affords to our free citizens all needful facilities in the pursuit and enjoyment of as full a share of happiness as the present condition of man is susceptible of. But while thus enjoying all the blessings of Heaven's richest bounty, your memorialists have viewed with deep regret and heartfelt sorrow, the dark stain on our national character, which is inflicted by the existence of slavery in the District of Co-

lumbia. That district being the common property of the nation, and immediately under the control of congress; whatever enormity may be legally permitted therein, becomes the common concern of the whole confederacy. Furthermore if slavery be an evil both moral and political as is generally admitted at the present day, it would seem that the whole nation becomes implicated in its support, so long as it remains sanctioned by law in that district which is the seat of our government, and depository of our rights. Your memorialists therefore, feeling in common with many thousands of their fellow citizens, unwilling to sanction so great an evil, and desirous to do all that is in their power towards its removal, beg leave, earnestly, yet respectfully, to urge the consideration of this subject, on the attention of congress.

Your memorialists are aware that difficulties are found in the way of an immediate emancipation of those slaves now existing; arising out of a supposed right of property in those who hold them; as well as from a disqualification for self-government on the part of the slaves themselves, but which would be entirely obviated by an enactment providing that from and after a given date all persons born within the district, shall be free at a given age. By the enactment of such a law the wishes of a very large proportion of the individuals represented by your honorable body, it is believed would be met; and that so much at least, ought to be done by the national legislature, seems to be demanded not only by the claims of humanity and justice, but also by those of patriotism and consistency. Amongst the first acts of the congress of this Union, was one to abolish the African slave trade; and our whole existence as a nation is based on the principle that "all men are created equal;" and shall the congress of these states at the present day, hesitate to declare, that henceforth and forever, the child that is born within the limits of its special legislation, shall breathe an atmosphere of liberty?

Under a full conviction that the true interest of the nation requires the interposition of congress in this important

matter; and with a full and entire reliance on the wisdom of your honorable body; your memorialists decline any argument to prove the justice or reasonableness of their prayer, or to show the obligation that lies upon the legislature of this happy country, to interpose its authority in behalf of the offspring of these subjects of oppression, and thus remove the odium which attaches to the American name by the existence of slavery in the national domain.

Your memorialists would also intreat your attention to the necessity of passing laws for the prevention of kidnapping, and the scenes of cruelty connected with the slave trade in the District of Columbia, until its final abolition.

Many of the African race, purchased for a distant market, are concentrated here, where the sounds of the clanking fetters mingle with the voice of the American statesmen, legislating for a free people.

This district, from its central situation, has become a depot of slaves, purchased and introduced by dealers from other states, and here incarcerated till the time of their transportation arrives. In near view from the capital, are private jails, from whose walls issue the agonizing cries of those separated from kindred and friends, revolting to every citizen and philanthropist. Here, through the defect of existing laws, facilities are afforded persons denominated slave traders, to consign to perpetual bondage those who are entitled to freedom after a term of years, and the people regard with abhorrence and pain, a traffic extensively carried on by those who prefer wealth to the love and esteem of mankind.

In this district whether its citizens be the friends or opponents of the abolition of slavery, they regard this traffic as alike dishonorable to our character as Americans and christians, and demanding the interposition of the government. The honor of our common country, a respect for the opinions of mankind, the ardent desire of our patriots and statesmen to remove the curse of slavery entailed on us while colonies,

when it can successfully be done, call for your interference on this momentous subject.

On motion of Mr. Waugh the above memorial was referred to the attention of the Acting Committee; with instructions to present it at the present or a subsequent session of congress, as they might consider most expedient. On the adoption of this motion the ayes and nays were as follows:

Ayes—Messrs. Haviland, Walker, Grim, Earle, Weatherly, Sheppard, Jones, Needles, M'Clelland, Jacob Janney, Waugh, Drinker and Hallowell.—13.

Nays.—Messrs. Parker, Cope, Lundy, Ward, Anderson, Barron and M'Leod.—7.—Adjourned to 7 o'clock, P. M.

December 11th, 7 o'clock P. M.

Present, Vice President Parker in the chair and 20 Delegates, viz. Messrs. Haviland, Walker, Grim, Weatherly, Earle, Cope, Sheppard, Lundy, Needles, Jones, M'Clelland, Ward, Jacob Janney, Anderson, Barron, Dawes, M'Leod, Waugh, Drinker and Hallowell.

The Vice President announced the following gentlemen to serve as the Acting Committee of this Convention, viz. Messrs. Hallowell, Waugh, M'Clelland, Jacob Janney, Lundy, Jones, Preston, AtLee, Earle, Noble, Ridgway, Cope, Sheppard, Walker and Haviland.

On motion of B. Hallowell, Vice President Parker, was added to the above committee.

On motion of C. S. Cope, *Resolved*, That the Convention feel great pleasure in recording the following Resolution of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, on the minutes, viz.

No. 1. Resolution relative to the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, That the Senators of this State, in the Senate of the United States, be and they are hereby instructed, and the Representatives of this State in Congress, be and they are

hereby requested to procure if practicable, the passage of a law to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, in such a manner as they may consider consistent with the rights of individuals and the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, That the Governor be and he is hereby requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing Resolution, to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

NER MIDDLESWARTH,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
DANIEL STURGEON,
Speaker of the Senate.

Approved the twenty-third day of January, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine.

J. ANDW. SHULZE.

Pamphlet Laws, 1828-9, p. 371.

Mr. Lundy from the committee on the Internal Slave Trade, submitted a report which was read and accepted.

The following report was read and accepted, viz.

To THE AMERICAN CONVENTION, &c.—The commitee appointed to draft a memorial to the legislatures of the several states praying that their representatives in Congress may be requested, and their senators instructed to use their exertions to procure the passage of an act for the gradual aboliton of slavery in the District of Columbia,

Respectfully report, That they have prepared and herewith present the draft of such a memorial for the consideration of the Convention.

JAMES OSWALD GRIM,
December 11, 1829. Chairman.

To the Honorable the legislature of the state of

The Memorial of "The American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery and improving the condition of the African race" assembled at Washington, in the District of Columbia,

Respectfully Represents,—That feeling a strong solicitude to advance the object for which they are associated, your

memorialists approach your honorable body for its concurrence and aid upon a matter which they conceive to be of great interest to the American people. That the existence of slavery within the United States is a great evil and one for which an adequate remedy is, of all national objects the most to be desired, is a truth in which the whole body of our fellow-citizens have for a long time acquiesced; but whether its ultimate and entire removal is ever to be affected, compatibly with that justice to the parties concerned upon which it should be based, is a problem that remains to be solved, but to which philanthropists are now daily directing their attention.

The success however which has attended the efforts of many of the States of the Union, who at an early period of our national history were encumbered by the same evil in a lesser degree but who have since been successful in removing it, induce a hope in your memorialists that slavery may be abolished in the District of Columbia. That if possible it *ought* to be, some interesting considerations of a local character, peculiarly dictate. The significant and peculiar silence discovered upon the face of the constitutional compact of the land, upon the great subject of human servitude with which the country then was burthened, the care which was observed by the sages, who framed the instrument, not to employ a term in its structure which might in after years and in times of universal freedom, be appealed to for the purpose of accusation or reproach, enjoin it, we think as a strong and imperative duty to their successors to remove this growing evil from the seat of the councils of the nation and the limits emphatically of the national domain. Without therefore attempting to interfere with the exclusive duties of state sovereignties, it is incumbent we think upon national legislators, to give effect to the noble and benign spirit of the great charter under which they are convened, by devising and enacting measures for the gradual emancipation of all who are in a state of servitude in the District of Columbia. Nor can we for a moment believe that it is a subject upon

which local situation can give rise to any diversity of sentiment among Americans at large. The dictates of patriotic pride and of national consistency must have the same force with all of them.

The people of these states have cause to be distinguished for numerous occasions upon which, and that too in many instances by discarding all interested considerations they have sought the establishment of great national principles. Without adverting to the events connected with the origin of their independence, further than to say that they were founded in a regard for free principles in the abstract, more than in any practical evil under which they were suffering, we may mention the extension of the principles of free trade, the abolition of private warfare on the ocean, the denunciation of the African slave trade as piracy, &c. as propositions by which our country has endeavoured to discharge its duty in the great family of nations. From a people thus naturally disposed, what may not be expected? What circumstances of accident or temporary advantage will be able to stifle the strengthening voice of freedom and manly justice?

The friends of Abolition must indeed expect that the object can only be obtained by very gradual means, but a period no matter how distant, for the certain operation of any principle which may have the desired effect, must afford a great degree of satisfaction to every friend of equal rights and every well wisher of the reputation of his country.

This object however cannot be obtained except perhaps at a distance of time now invisible, unless the wishes of the states with regard to it are audibly expressed. Congress have been heretofore memorialized on this subject, but as they were not guided by any expression of the wishes of their constituents, no satisfactory result was produced. But the great body of the American people never can be indifferent to a matter of this nature, and the friends of the cause of Abolition have taken measures to draw the attention of Congress once more to it.

Your memorialists therefore respectfully request your Honorable body to instruct your senators and request your representatives in Congress, to use all their efforts for the passage of a law, which may have for its end the gradual abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, upon principles of justice and a regard to the rights of individuals.

Ordered, That the above memorial be signed by the officers of the Convention and that the Acting Committee be charged with the presentation of the same.

Thomas Earle presented the following report, which was read and accepted viz.

The committee to whom was referred the consideration of the various proposed schemes for effecting the abolition of slavery and improving the condition of the African race, respectfully report:

That it has been proposed, as a preliminary to complete emancipation, to reduce slaves to the condition of the serfs of Poland and Russia, fixed to the soil, without the right on the part of the master to remove them. It appears extremely doubtful to your committee whether such a measure would in any degree accelerate entire emancipation. The proposition moreover, has not received that degree of public approbation which is necessary to justify any expectation of its speedy adoption.

Some individuals have believed it perfectly safe and judicious, to obtain, if practicable, legislative enactments for the immediate liberation of all slaves. Propositions of this nature are met by a reprobation so universal on the part of the citizens of those states where slavery exists, who have undoubtedly the best means of judging of the probable consequences, that it may be considered certain they will not be adopted. Gradual abolition is the only mode which at present appears likely to receive the public sanction.

Another proposition has been that those who are not owners of slaves should abstain from the products of slave labour, and thus by destroying the market compel emancipation. Your committee are of opinion that it would be far

easier to persuade the majority of the people to pass laws for the abolition of slavery than to break off all commercial intercourse with slave holders. The more practicable measure would render the less practicable, unnecessary.

It seems probable, however, that the example of individuals who, from conscientious motives, abstain from the produce of slavery, will have its uses in exciting public attention to the nature and magnitude of the evil which leads to these instances of self denial.

It has been strenuously urged that there is less pecuniary profit in the employment of slave labour, than in that of freemen, and that the extensive promulgation of this truth will be effective in inducing slave holders, from motives of interest, to consent to emancipation. Although this doctrine has been promulgated for several years, facts have not been adduced sufficient to carry general conviction to the minds of those interested. Unless some evidence of a more conclusive or effectual nature can be adduced, it appears that little good can be expected from the agitation of this matter.

But in whatever degree the question of immediate pecuniary profit may be unsettled, the evils of slavery in affecting the morals and happiness of society, in abridging public and private enterprize, in promoting idleness and extravagance, and in accelerating the impoverishment of land, are sufficiently capable of demonstration, and are indeed freely admitted by many slave holders. To continue to call the attention of the people to these effects, will undoubtedly be useful in the furtherance of the grand object of our aim.

The passage of laws by our state legislatures, fixing a certain period after which all persons shall be born free, or shall be free at a certain age, is a proposed measure which has formerly received the sanction of this Convention. It is analagous to those which have already been adopted in some of our states, and it is that by which the final extinction of slavery will probably be effected throughout our country. But it seems unlikely that those states where slaves are very numerous, will consent to the measure, until the

proportion of slaves has been considerably reduced by other means. It can hardly be expected that the whites, where they are a minority, will, at any near period of time, consent to surrender political power into the hands of a race which they are accustomed to look upon as inferior and degraded, or that they will be free from apprehensions of a contest for property as the probable result. History furnishes no instance of the passage of a law for abolishing slavery in a nation where the slaves at the time of its passage were nearly equal in number to the freemen. We have no evidence to justify the assumption, that mankind in future, will act differently. The condition of some of our states, nevertheless, is such, that measures of this kind may with great propriety be urged, and kept constantly in view of the public.

Appeals to a sense of justice, and the dictates of religion, operating on individuals to produce voluntary emancipation, have been the chief means by which slavery has been abolished or greatly reduced, in most countries where it once extensively existed. Such were the means of the liberation of serfs in Great Britain and other European countries.* They are those which have produced the emancipation of most of the free coloured people now existing in the United States. They are those which must be looked to, for so far diminishing the evil, as to produce that state of society in which the passage of laws for complete abolition may be obtained. But unfortunately a sense of danger, mingled with other motives of policy or interest, has produced the enactment of laws in most of the slave holding

* "The holy fathers, monks and friars, had in their confessions and specially in their extreme and deadly sickness, convinced the laity how dangerous a practice it was, for one christian man to hold another in bondage: so that temporal men by little and little, by reason of that terror in their consciences, were glad to manumit all their villeins."—Sir T. Smith His. Common. vide 2. Blackstone, p. 96.

states, prohibiting or greatly limiting the exercise of benevolent feelings in this way. The repeal of these laws must be the first or an early measure towards the completion of the great work.

It has been supposed that adequate provision for the colonization of emancipated persons in Africa, Hayti, or other foreign or domestic territory, would tend to produce the repeal of those laws, as well as of those which restrict the education of slaves, and would thus pave the way for the adoption of laws for complete emancipation. If, in this way, the number of slaves could be kept stationary, while that of the free whites should continue to increase, the relative proportions would ere long be obtained which would justify the hopes of legislative interference. The interference of legislatures does not depend so much on the number of slaves, as upon their proportion to the free inhabitants. This position is illustrated by the fact that in New York where slavery is now extinct, the number of slaves in 1820 was ten thousand and eighty-eight, while in Delaware, where no laws for emancipation have been passed, the number was only four thousand five hundred and nine.

We are informed that a conviction of the injurious effects of the presence of free blacks, is general in the slave-holding states, even perhaps among those citizens who have no property invested in slaves. We are also assured and believe that there are great numbers of persons in those states who would emancipate their slaves, if a suitable asylum abroad were provided for them; and that the number of individuals of this description is likely greatly to increase if ample means of emigration are provided.*

The question therefore arises, whether colonization to any considerable extent is practicable. The solution of this question depends, in a degree, upon the expense, and the means which there is reason to hope may be commanded.

* Two thousand slaves are said to be now offered to the Colonization Society, for transportation.

The public mind in the greater portion of our country appears more favourable to colonization than to any other proposed means of emancipation, as may be gathered from the resolutions and laws adopted by Congress, and by various State Legislatures, as well as from inquiry into the sentiments of private individuals. Consequently, if adequate colonization could be effected by the national government without materially embarrassing its operations, or requiring the imposition of new taxes upon the people, there is reason to hope for its realization. The question of expense and practicability is, we apprehend, too often decided hastily, and without those accurate calculations which can alone justify a positive conclusion.

We will therefore state the results of some of our inquiries. The number of slaves in the United States is rather under two millions:* and the annual increase is something less than two and a half *per centum* on the population of the preceding year.† The total increase per annum, is therefore short of fifty thousand. The expense of transportation to Africa in merchant vessels will not exceed thirty dollars per head, and to Hayti from ten to fifteen dollars per head. The expense of transporting the increase, half to each of the above named countries, would therefore be from one million to one million one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars yearly. If we add two dollars per head for corn to maintain the emigrants until they can provide for themselves, the total expense will not exceed one and one fourth million of dollars per annum.

The average annual revenue of the national government

* The slave population in 1810 was 1,191,364; in 1820, 1,531,436. Increasing in the same ratio, in 1830 it will be 1,948,587.

† The increase in ten years is about twenty-eight per centum, but as the increase of the latter portion of the period is much greater than that of the former portion, it will be evident that our estimate for a single year is correct.

may be estimated at twenty-three millions;* and the annual expenditure exclusive of the public debt, is about twelve millions. As the public debt will be extinct in four or five years, there will shortly be a surplus revenue of about eleven millions yearly. One eighth of this sum will be sufficient for transporting the whole increase of slave population.

Again: the annual expenditure of the Naval Department of the United States, was estimated in 1827 at $ 4,263,877, and in 1828 at $ 4,420,000.† This expenditure is more than treble that of the same department, at some periods of our history. Without expressing any opinion of the propriety of this expenditure, a question not proper for this Convention to decide, we may remark that rational men will readily admit that it would be wiser to reduce the expenditure one half, and abolish slavery, than to continue both the expenditure and the servitude. A reduction of one half in the naval expenditures would produce a fund of $ 2,200,000 per annum; a sum sufficient to transport to Africa and Hayti, ninety thousand slaves per annum, or forty thousand more than the annual increase. We offer this observation merely in illustration of the ease with which the government *can* command the necessary funds without any sacrifice that is not greatly overbalanced by the importance of the object. There would, however, be no occasion for retrenching any of the present expenditures of the government.

It has been suggested that the public vessels of the nation, most of which are useless during peace, should be employed in the transportation of emancipated persons. The number of these vessels is about fifty, and the average number of persons which they could transport at a voyage, may be estimated at one thousand, although the ships of the line, of which there are twelve built and building, can transport two thousand five hundred each, at a voyage. These vessels

* In 1820 it was $ 24,789,463. See Treasury Report for 1829.
† Treasury Reports.

going one half to Africa, and one half to Hayti, and the former making two and the latter four voyages per year, would transport one hundred and fifty thousand persons per annum, or three times the increase of slaves; and would at this rate extinguish slavery in twenty years. The whole increase of slaves might therefore be transported in public vessels, without interfering with other national objects, or very materially increasing the national expenses.

We will now consider the effect of transporting the increase. The present population of the slave holding states is about 5,800,000, of which above 3,800,000, are freemen; perhaps from one third to one half the free people are interested in slave property. If the increase of slaves were colonized, in about twenty-five years there would be in the slave states, seven millions of free people to two millions of slaves; and in the whole Union near twenty-nine millions of free people to the above number of slaves, or a proportion of ten to one. The consequent increased ease, safety, and probability of obtaining laws for total emancipation, is manifest.

Thus the practicability of great benefit, with little sacrifice, from the aid of government in the work of emigration, is very apparent. A great recommendation of the measure arises from the fact, that it is the only efficient one which is likely to be speedily sanctioned by the people; and is the only one by which voluntary emancipation, in most of the slave holding states, can be effected.

Even if colonization should not be adopted to the extent of carrying away the whole increase, it ought still to be encouraged. It is considered a great and good work to have obtained by law, the emancipation of about fourteen or fifteen thousand persons in New York and Pennsylvania. If so, the emancipation of no more than that number, by aid of emigration to suitable countries, would also be a work worthy the united efforts of the friends of abolition.

Your committee do not look to the transportation of the whole coloured population from this country, at any period.

Emancipation will be effected without it. But partial emigration may greatly aid the cause; particularly in its early stages, by preparing the way for the repeal of the laws against education and against voluntary emancipation.

Under the influence of the foregoing considerations your committee would recommend, that the friends of emancipation persevere in their efforts to convince the whole community of the pernicious effects of slavery on the morals, the enterprize, and the happiness of a people.

That they continue in temperate and conciliatory language to illustrate the inconsistency of bondage with sound political doctrines, as well as with the obligations of justice and religion.

That they constantly endeavour to procure the repeal of those laws which restrict the education and emancipation of slaves.

That they exert themselves, particularly in the states where slaves are the least numerous, to procure the speedy passage of laws for gradual abolition.

That they endeavour to procure from the National Government the appropriation of adequate funds to aid the voluntary emigration of all emancipated people of colour, to any country where a suitable asylum may be found: and that, as an auxilliary means, they petition the state legislatures for the passage of resolutions approbatory of such measure.

That they cordially aid in any just mode of promoting abolitions which is favourably received by the people, without insisting on a preference of other modes, which might be abstractedly the best, but are not likely to be generally adopted.—All of which is respectfully submitted.

On behalf of the Committee,

T. EARLE, Chairman.

December 11th, 1829.

Ordered, That the above Committee be continued, with leave to make a further report to the next Convention.

Adjourned.

December 12*th*, 1829, 10 *o'clock*, *A. M.*

Present, Vice President Parker in the chair, and 17 Delegates, viz. Messrs Haviland, Walker, Grim, Weatherly, Earle, Cope, Sheppard, Lundy, Jones, M'Clelland, Ward, Jacob Janney, Anderson, Barron, Dawes, Waugh and Hallowell.

The Vice President announced the following gentlemen to serve on the Standing Committees, viz.

On the African Slave Trade, Messrs. Haviland, Walker and Grim.

On the Internal Slave Trade, Messrs. Drinker, Waugh, Anderson and Barron.

On the State of Slavery in the United States, Messrs. Kesly, Lundy and Needles.

On the Laws of the United States in relation to Slaves and free people of colour, Messrs. Samuel M. Janney, Thos. Jacobs, Jacob Janney and Jos. C. Dawes.

On Kidnapping, Messrs. Hallowell, Jonathan Janney, M'Leod and Ward.

Reports from the above Committees are to be made to the next Convention.

Mr. Earle, seconded by Mr. Sheppard, offered the following, viz.

Resolved, That this Convention will hold an adjourned session;—which resolution was negatived.

The following amendment to the Constitution was offered, viz, *Resolved*, That the 1st. sec. of article 2nd of the Constitution, be amended by striking out the words "meet biennially in the city of Washington, D. C. on the second Monday in January," and inserting the words "meet biennially in Philadelphia on the first Tuesday in December."

The committee appointed to ascertain what sum should be raised to defray the expenses of the Convention, Reported, That they considered the sum of one hundred and thirty-five dollars to be sufficient, which they had apportioned as follows,

New York Manumission Society,	$40 00
Pennsylvania Abolition Society,	40 00
Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland,	30 00
Delaware Abolition Society,	10 00
Washington City Abolition Society,	5 00
Benevolent Society of Alexandria,	5 00
Manumision Society of North Carolina,	5 00

On behalf of the Committee,

CHARLES WALKER, Chairman.

December 12th, 1829.

On motion, the above report was accepted, and the several societies requested to remit their respective quotas to the Treasurer, Dr. Jonas Preston, Philadelphia.

The Committee appointed to prepare an address to the public on the objects and present prospects of this Convention, have attended to the duty of their appointment, and prepared a draft of an address, which they now respectfully submit to the Convention.

For the Committee,

B. LUNDY, Chairman.

TO THE PUBLIC.

"The American Convention for promoting the abolition of slavery and improving the condition of the African race," having met for the first time at the city of Washington,

deem it proper to address the public in general, relative to the objects and present prospects of the Institution.

We do not consider it necessary to enter into a detail of the history of our proceedings, in this address; neither shall we attempt to adduce any argument to prove the justice of our cause. The first is within the reach of those generally, who take an interest in the success of our undertaking; the last stands undenied and undeniable, among men of the least pretensions to virtue and candor. But having located this Convention at the seat of the National Government, many of our fellow citizens, who have never acquainted themselves with our proceedings, may be desirous to know the objects we have in view, as well as our prospects of success. A compliance with a wish so reasonable, we deem incumbent on us; and we shall frankly state our views and ultimate design.

The sole aim and end of this Convention ever has been, and now is, the abolition of slavery and improvement of the African race, (as its title imports,) in the United States, upon the principles of justice, equity and safety. The means by which it seeks to accomplish this great work, are:

1st. To enlighten the public mind, relative to the actual state of the slave system.

2nd. To concentrate the opinions and labors of philanthropists in every portion of the country, respecting the adoption of measures for its abolition.

3d. To give efficiency to the labors of individuals, and the various kindred associations in different parts of the Union, by petitions and memorials to the constituted authorities, accompanied by such information as may be useful to them.

4th. To point out the best and most practical modes of lessening the evils resulting from that system, during its existence in this republic.

With these views the Convention was originally organized, and upon these principles it has ever proceeded. It

has been eminently successful in promoting the cause of emancipation in that portion of the Union, where it was at first located; and we consider it strictly within the bounds of reason to infer, from past experience, that it will exert a salutary influence where it is now established. As the light of liberty advances, and the bright luminary of truth shines through the mists of popular error, the labors of the advocates of emancipation will be duly appreciated and their laudable exertions crowned with success.

If we may be allowed to compare the exertions of philanthropists at the present day, with those of former periods in the history of our country, the most sanguine anticipations of future success may be indulged. Within little more than half a century, few, very few, and most of them possessed of comparatively little influence in the political circles, were known to advocate our cause. Now thousands are enlisted in it, some of whom are among the most influential characters in the nation. Then, the system of slavery was tolerated within the limits of the United States, from the Mississippi to the western confines of Massachusetts, and from the Atlantic to the farthest north-western frontier. Now, the vast extent of country, comprising the states of Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, in the whole of which slavery was permitted to exist, is almost totally freed from the foul pollution. And further, a law has been enacted and enforced, positively prohibiting its extension beyond the line of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes, north latitude, in all the territory belonging to the republic. This great and important work has unquestionably been accomplished by the active labors of those who have exerted themselves to show the impropriety of continuing to tolerate the system, and the feasibility of its total extinction.

From this view of the subject we draw the conclusion, that as "like causes produce like effects," we have sufficient ground for the belief, that by a faithful perseverance in the

same course of benevolence, the same happy results will follow. We frankly admit that where the evil of slavery is felt to a greater extent than in the states to which we have adverted, not only must *greater exertions* be used, but even the plans of proceeding must be somewhat varied. Yet we contend that the same grand object must be kept constantly in view, and the same leading principles ever be acted on, to produce the desired result.

In locating this Convention at the city of Washington, we are actuated by the hope that influential men from different parts of the Union, may thereby become more ultimately acquainted with our proceedings, and so far as they may approve thereof, be induced to co-operate with us. From the very nature of the principles which we profess, it will be seen that our success depends wholly on the *united exertions* of the wise and virtuous. Our plans being entirely of a pacific character and having nothing in view but what is consistent with the welfare and happiness of all, we confidently rely on the wisdom of the patriot and philanthropist, and the good sense of our free, enlightened fellow-citizens, for the realization of our hopes, and the consummation of our important undertaking.

Ordered that the Acting Committee be directed to take suitable measures to have the above address generally distributed.

Ordered, that the Acting Committee be directed to have one thousand copies of the minutes of this Convention printed and distributed to the several anti-slavery societies, and otherwise as they may deem proper.

Ordered, that the Constitution and By Laws of the Convention, be printed as an appendix to the minutes.

Ordered, that the treasurer be directed to subscribe for four copies of the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," to be at the disposal of the Acting Committee.

The Report of the Committee on the State of Slavery in the United States, being again considered, was amended and adopted as follows.

To the American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery, &c.

The committee appointed (at the last session of the Convention) on the state of slavery in the United States, beg leave to report as follows:

Your committee were rather at a loss to perceive the precise design of the Convention, in the appointment of a committee on the state of slavery in the United States. But have thought proper to review the subject; first with reference to its progress; secondly in reference to the situation or treatment of slaves; and thirdly in reference to the prospect of its diminution or final removal.

First. In reference to the progress of slavery in the United States, your committee find that at the time of the first census under the Constitution in 1790, there were 694,280 slaves in the Union. These were with the exception of about 40,000, confined to a surface of about 212,000 square miles. In 1800, the number was 889,118 on a surface of 289,000 square miles or nearly so! In 1810, the number was increaeed to 1,191,364 and covered an extent of territory of about 431,000 square miles! At the time of the last census in 1820, the slaves in the United States and territories amounted to 1,538,178, and your committee have good reason to believe that the number at the present time or at the census of 1830, will be found to be about two millions, occupying a territory including Arkansas, of nearly 600,000 square miles!!

Your committee have been surprised at the result of their own enquiries, for they had fondly hoped that the dreadful evil was if not diminishing, at least advancing with less rapidity. From various estimates, on which your committee place much reliance, they are confirmed in the opinion, that the increase (independent of clandestine importations) must amount at the present time to at least near 50,000 per annum.

As this increase like that of population generally, is in its nature, a geometrical progression, it must continue to augment, as long as subsistance can be obtained. This view of the subject is truly alarming; but when we consider the extent of territory which is overspread by this foul blot on the map of our beloved country, the heart sickens at the prospect.

To behold 600,000 square miles of the best land in North America, teeming with slaves,—a surface greater, than that of many European kingdoms, held too by men who are constantly boasting of their love of liberty; sending up daily to Heaven, the sighs and groans of millions of broken hearts, while the sweat and tears and even the blood of thousands moisten its soil, must excite deep emotion in every breast, not dead to those feelings which become the patriot, or animate the christian. But furthermore your committee are of opinion that if the scheme, of adding a large portion of Mexican territory, to our south-western border, should be consumated, the price of slaves will be so enhanced and the facilities of smuggling so much increased, that the African slave trade will be greatly augmented, as well as the practice of kidnapping in the more eastern parts of our own country. So that upon the whole, your committee are of opinion, that slavery is fearfully on the increase, and that every effort is making, by many of those interested in its continuance, to multiply its victims and extend its influence. This state of things calls loudly on every friend of his country, on every friend of man, to use every effort in his power, to arrest the torrent of misery and crime.

Secondly. On the treatment of slaves,—your committee have long indulged an opinion which they believe is common with their fellow-citizens, that slaves in this country are somewhat better treated than formerly. This opinion seems to prevail to an extent which your committee fear, is not sustained by facts. A writer in Niles's Register for 1818, says, speaking on this subject "The favourable

change which has occurred in the treatment of negro slaves in this state (Maryland) since the revolution, must be to every benevolent mind a source of very agreeable reflections, our oldest citizens well remember when it was very customary to inflict on the manacled and naked person of the slave, the most intolerable punishments for very trivial offences. *Within the last twenty years* it has been the practice to muster all the slaves on a farm once a week, and distribute to each his peck of corn, leaving him to walk several miles, to some neighbours hand mill, to grind it himself, under cover of the night, when exhausted nature called for rest from the labours of the day; in many cases they received not an atom of animal food, and their usual bedding was a plank, or by particular kindness a single blanket."

The above writer does not specify any particulars in which the improvement spoken of is apparent, but we think all will admit that a very considerable improvement might be accomplished, and yet the treatment might be such as could not be called *good*. He adds however that "much remains to be done, which the obligation of *humanity* require."

Your committee are of opinion, that in consequence of what has been written, spoken, and done by the friends of abolition, much light has been diffused through the community even in the slave holding states, and many masters restrained by the force of public opinion, thus enlightened, have abstained from cruelties which they would otherwise have inflicted; yet we cannot but believe, that very much anguish of heart, and exquisite sufferings of body are endured by this unhappy race, even in Maryland: (and we believe they are used as well here, as in any other part of our country.)

The multitudes that are annually sold to the southern markets, by which parents and children are violently separated, and all the ties of consanguinity rent assunder, if no other indication of bad treatment were discovered; would itself speak volumes.

The treatment of slaves may be estimated with some degree of accuracy by the laws which are in force respecting them. The laws of the land are always understood to be intended for the protection of the subject, but with respect to negro slaves (in the slave states) they have an effect directly the reverse. So far from securing him in the enjoyment of happiness, his very life is placed at the mercy of any white man, (especially of his master or overseer) who may take the opportunity to kill him in the absence of any other free white person. Resistance to the will of a master or of any other white person in the absence of a master, may be punished with stripes, and if the resistance amount to striking, may be punished by imprisonment and whipping; and for a third offence the slave may suffer death! It will be perceived that by the operation of those laws, a virtuous female slave, may suffer death for defending her chastity against the ruffian assaults of a debauchee. The manner in which those laws are administered in some of the states, frequently occasions great outrages upon the common charities of our nature. The discretion rested in a court of two or three freeholders, or a single magistrate, over the persons of the accused is often exercised with great severity. In Stroud's Slave Laws, we have an account of the burning to death of a negro woman, under a law of South Carolina, so late as 1820. (See page 124, in the note.)

It appears also that the mental improvement of the slave is a thing generally deprecated by the master, and in some cases provided against by law. (see Niles's Register, April 21, 1821.)

How deplorable must be the state of that community, which supposes its safety to depend on keeping one half of its members totally ignorant, and not even able to read the Holy Scripture.

How contrary to the nature of man? how offensive in the sight of that God who "*has made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth!*"

It furthermore appears that in transporting slaves from one part of the nation to another, either in the domestic slave trade or in large bodies by removals of planters, &c. they are usually chained and handcuffed, or otherwise manacled, like the vilest criminals, &c. &c.

In considering the treatment of slaves, your committee deem it necessary to notice the amount and quality of labour required of them. In some cases this is known to be extremely severe, and attended with many aggravating circumstances. Such as scarcity of supplies which are sometimes insufficient, and frequently of very inferior quality: exposure to disease, and want of proper attention in the incipient stages of sickness. The cultivation of rice one of the great staples of the Carolinas, is an instance to illustrate this point. Mr. Adams in his Geography says, "the cultivation is wholly by negroes. No work can be imagined more laborious or more prejudicial to health. They are obliged to stand in water often times mid-leg high, exposed to the scorching heat of the sun, and breathing an atmosphere poisoned by the unwholesome effluvia of an oozy bottom and stagnant water."

It appears therefore, that in the treatment of slaves in general, as well as in the legal provisions respecting them, the interest, convenience, security and inclinations of the master, constitute the only object in view; the comfort or even safety or health of the slave makes no part of the consideration, any further than it is supposed, to promote one or other of the former. Finally after taking a rapid view of this part of the subject, your committee are led to doubt whether the evils of slavery are materially lessened in certain portions of our beloved country, notwithstanding all that has been done in favour of manumission, colonization and abolition of the slave trade, &c. &c. and what it might have been at this time, if no efforts had been made to arrest its progress, is beyond human wisdom to determine.

Thirdly. In reference to the diminution or the final extinc-

tion of slavery in the Union, your committee remark, that it seems to be the expectation of all, that it must at some period cease to exist, an evil so tremendous—a practice so completely at war with all the principles of justice, mercy and truth, so repugnant to all the best feelings of human nature, and fraught with such fearful consequences to society; cannot but excite in every reflecting mind a strong desire that it should be removed. In view of the divine government, which rules all with justice and righteousness, the human mind is naturally led to expect that such oppression and cruelty must have an end.

But how this revolution in society is to be brought about, perhaps no human foresight can yet divine. If our slave holding fellow citizens could be induced to establish schools for the instruction of the rising generation among the blacks, and thus qualify them for self government, which every principle of equity requires they should do, and to teach them by precept and example the importance of moral obligation; one of the greatest obstacles would be removed. If they would introduce among them a sacred regard for the social duties, arising from marriage, and from the relations subsisting between parents and children; they might with perfect safety and great advantage to the state, be emancipated. A few years of effort of this kind, would form a class of men from whom the nation would not only have nothing to fear; but on whom she could safely rely for aid in her greatest emergency. In there present condition of abject slavery what can be expected of them, but that they should lay hold on every apparent opportunity, of regaining their freedom, and ever retorting on their masters the evils they have suffered?

Facts uniformly sustain this position; what multitudes of slaves joined the enemy during his temporary invasions of our southern coasts in the late war, notwithstanding all the efforts of the whites to prevent it? while on the contrary none were found more efficient in repelling his attacks than

the free blacks of the south. Such was their zeal and valour in defence of Louisiana, that General Jackson, the present Chief Magistrate of the Union; bestowed on them the following eulogium.

"TO THE MEN OF COLOUR."

"Soldiers! From the shores of Mobile I collected you to arms; I invited you to share in the perils, and to divide the glory of your white countrymen. I expected much from you, for I was not uninformed of those qualities which must render you formidable to an invading enemy. I knew that you could endure hunger and thirst, and all the hardships of war. —I knew that you loved the land of your nativity! and that like ourselves you had to defend all that is dear to man. But you *surpass my hopes*. I have found in you united to those qualities, that noble enthusiasm which impels to great deeds." In a subsequent communication, the General in enumerating the officers whose commands had distinguished themselves, makes honourable mention of the one who led these troops in the different actions, of that memorable campaign. There are many circumstances which encourage the hope, that the time is drawing nigh when the African race shall enjoy the sweets of liberty. Their successful attempt at self government in St. Domingo, under so many disadvantages, the abolition of slavery in several of the South American provinces, and recently in Mexico, and the efforts of the British nation in their behalf, together with many other co-operating causes, seem to indicate the interposition of Divine Providence in favour of the oppressed. In HIS Almighty hand, the most inefficient causes sometimes produce the most astonishing effects, and often the very means made use of to rivet the chains of oppression are so overruled by Him as to burst the bonds they were designed to perpetuate. We may therefore rest assured that He will in his own good time crown our labours with complete success, by bringing deliverance to the captive "and the opening of the prison doors to them that are bound." In the mean time let every

friend of the cause remember that HE has a duty to perform. Let the result be what it may, he is equally bound to oppose as far as possible, the growing evil.

It becomes us therefore to enquire how this may most effectually be done. Our opposition should be peaceable but firm. It should be the opposition of brothers not of enemies, it may be shewn by acts of kindness and forbearance, but it *must be opposition* and it *must be shown*. It may exhibit itself in peaceable efforts to protect the rights of free blacks, and instructing their offspring, or it may be shown by rational attempts to enlighten the public mind on the subject, or in encouragement of those publications that are so employed; or by memorials to congress and the state legislatures, &c. &c.

One means of considerable efficiency for exciting the public mind to the consideration of the injustice and impolicy of slavery, may probably be found in the persevering efforts now making on the part of many friends of abolition to encourage the creation and consumption of the products of free labour.

We cannot withhold the tribute of our respect and admiration from those patriotic females, who have associated for this purpose both in England and America, and heartily, recommend their example, as one worthy of universal imitation.

WM. KESLEY, Chairman.

Ordered, That the thanks of the Convention, be presented by the Vice President, to Joseph Gales, Esq. Mayor of Washington, and to the presiding officers of the Board of Aldermen and Common Council, for their politeness and attention in affording the Convention the use of the Council Chamber in the City Hall.

Ordered, That the thanks of the Convention be presented to the Vice President, for the very satisfactory manner in which he has presided over its deliberations.—Adjourned sine die.

JOSEPH PARKER, Vice President.

ROBERT P. ANDERSON,
CHARLES S. COPE. } Secretaries.

APPENDIX.

PART I.

[No. 1.]—Address from the Manumission Society of New York.

To the American Convention, &c.

The Manumission Society of New York, in addressing the Convention at this time, have but little of importance to communicate. Our schools, an object of primary importance to the friends of the African race, continue to be in a prosperous condition. We have now on our list of pupils, including males and females, upwards of six hundred scholars, whose progress in their several studies is pleasing and satisfactory; exhibiting a practical evidence of the facility with which this class of children acquire knowledge, when suitable opportunities are afforded them. We hope the different societies represented in the Convention will continue to promote, to the extent of their ability, the establishment of schools for coloured children, through which means they may be prepared for the duties of freemen. A history of the schools under our care from their first establishment, written by Charles C. Andrews, the teacher of the boys school, is now in the press. We think this little volume contains much useful information, which will be interesting to those desirous to promote the moral and intellectual improvement of these children of oppression.

We advert with peculiar satisfaction to the decree of the president of Mexico, for abolishing slavery in that extensive republic. It affords a pleasing confirmation of this truth, that the knowledge of those inalienable rights, which man possesses by virtue of his existence, is extending its benign influence among the nations. The march of the human mind towards the perfection of which its nature is susceptible, is progressive. And as knowledge increases, the *right* of every man to the unshackled exercise of his free agency, will be more generally acknowledged and respected.

Every example of the development of a respect for the rights of an oppressed and degraded class of our species, will be hailed by the philanthropist and the christian, as a happy omen of a more extended exercise of justice and benevolence.

We are convinced, in our own country, the cause of universal liberty is gaining ground in public opinion, particularly in some of the northern slave-holding states. The abstract right of holding mankind in bondage, seems to be abandoned as indispensible: and the question of *expediency* is now the only problem that remains to be solved. Slavery is admitted to be an *evil;* but an evil which it is difficult, if not impossible, in the opinion of many, to remove. If we would convince our Southern brethren that their *interest* would be promoted by abolishing slavery, and substituting free labour for that now performed by slaves, the consummation so devoutly to be wished, would be more than half accomplished. And that such is the *fact*, we have not a doubt. Examples within our own knowledge prove it. Whenever free labour is permitted to come in competition with slave labour, the latter has to be abandoned, because it is more expensive; and the products of free labour are brought into the market at a lower price. We have a case in point, in one of the states of Mexico, where the sugar plantations have been worked to profit by free labourers, which could not be maintained by the labour of slaves. For further particulars, we refer those desirous to examine the subject, to the Monthly Reporter, for August last. The contemplated purchase of the Province of Texas, by the United States, is a subject deeply interesting to every well-wisher to his country. The introduction of slavery into that extensive and fertile region, and the division of its territory into slave holding states, and their admission into the Union would be an event to be deplored by all true republicans. It would open an extensive market for the surplus slave population of the southern states, and convert those states into *producers* of slaves, for the profit arising from their sale; and thus the horrors of the internal slave trade would be renewed with redoubled vigor. It would be in vain, under such circumstances, to look to the general government for its suppression, or for a mitigation of its evils. So long as a majority of the states should have an interest in the purchase and sale of these degraded objects of our solicitude, so long would the internal slave trade continue:—for *interest* is the governing principle in man. It would prolong to an indefinite period the abolition of slavery in our country, and aggravate to an unlimited

extent, the already incalculable evils of an increasing slave population. These observations we make as *abolitionists*, not as *politicians*.

We enter into the examination of the subject only in relation to its bearing upon the great and important question of the continuance of slavery in our country. We do not wish to be understood to object to the purchase upon this condition, that slavery shall be forever excluded from that country. And we think that upon no other condition than that of a total prohibition of slavery, ought there ever to be any addition to our territory.

If the coloured population of the United States, or any inconsiderable portion of them, are ever to be colonized any where, so as to produce any sensible diminution of their number in the old states, there is, in our opinion, no place so eligibly situated for this purpose as Texas; its climate is congenial to their constitutions, neither subject to the extreme colds of the north, nor liable to be visited with the fatal diseases of the tropical regions of Africa and the West Indies; its vicinity to those states which are overcharged with the descendents of Africa, would afford facilities for emigration at a comparitively trifling expense. We wish the attention of the convention may be especially directed to the subject of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. For the honour of our country, let the seat of the legislative councils of a nation professing to be the asylum for the oppressed from all parts of the earth, be no longer disgraced by the existence of perpetual and unconditional slavery. Every practicable means which wisdom could devise, or sound discretion could adopt, should be brought to bear upon this important question, until the evil is irradicated. The promotion of petitions to congress from different parts of the United States, or to the state legislatures, praying that the representatives in congress may be requested to use their endeavours to accomplish this desirable object, we think, might be recommended with propriety by the convention. Relying upon your zeal in the success, we willingly vest in your discretion, to devise the *means* most likely to be effectual in the accomplishment of the end proposed, without going further into particulars. There is one other subject to which we wish to call the attention of the convention.

It is well known that the laws of some of the southern states, subject free coloured people, forced on board of our merchant vessels trading to their ports, to imprisonment as soon as they arrive in those ports, though they may be citi-

zens of New-York or Pennsylvania. Such laws plainly contravene the provisions of the federal constitution, which declares, that the citizens of any state shall enjoy all the privileges of citizens in the several states. We have no doubt, if a case were brought to issue in the highest judicial tribunal in our country, that these laws would be decided to be unconstitutional. We have, to this effect, the written opinion of three of the first legal characters in our state. The same observations will apply with equal force to the imprisonment of free blacks from the Northern and Middle States, on suspicion of being runaways. When declared free, they are still subjected, without redress, to the costs of imprisonment and trial. All laws, which sanction such innovations of the rights of freemen, we have no doubt are unconstitutional. We hope the convention will deliberate upon the means proper to be resorted to, for the purpose of testing the constitutionality of those laws. Able council, of the first order for talents and legal knowledge, have voluntarily offered to argue such a cause, in the Supreme Court gratuitously. The funds necessary to defray the expense of bringing such a case to issue, we have no doubt, could be easily procured, without touching the funds of the convention.

We have appointed Charles Walker, James Oswald Grim, and Edmund Haviland, to represent this society in the convention.

The Officers of the Society, are

President—C. D. Colden.

Vice Presidents, { Geo. Newbold, Peter A. Jay.

Secretary—Thomas Hale.

Assistant Secretary—Richard Mott, jr.

Treasurer—R. C. Cornell.

Councillors—C. D. Colden, Benjamin Clark, John Duer, James Oswald Grim, Jabez D. Hammond, Peter A. Jay, Charles Walker, Hyram Ketchum.

Committee of Ways and Means.

Joseph Curlies, Chairman. Wm. C. White, Secretary.

Committee of Correspondence.

Joseph Curtis, Chairman. Wm. L. Stone Sec'ry.

Standing Committee.

Barney Corse, Chairman. Ira B. Underhill, Sec'ry.

Trustees of the Schools.

Mich. W. Titus, Chairman. Richard Field, Sec'ry.

GEO: NEWBOLD, *Vice President.*

THOMAS HALE, *Secretary.*

[No. 2.]—Address from the Pennsylvania Abolition Society.

To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, &c. &c. to be held at Washington, D. C. on the eighth of next month.

GENTLEMEN,—We hail, with great satisfaction, the first assembling of the Convention at the seat of the National Government. It was indeed time to present to the eyes of the entire Union, in the most public and impressive manner, the concentrated and unwearied efforts of a large portion of their fellow-citizens—not confined to any particular state—not impelled by local interests, nor biassed by local prejudices, to remove if possible the blot which has so long existed on our national character.

It was right to assemble in the appropriate seat of the National Government; and there, in the face of the National Representatives, frankly and firmly to exercise the rights of freemen, in discussing, recommending, and promoting those pure and holy principles on which our separate and general associations are founded which some of them, for near half a century, have endeavoured to enforce, and which it is not expected that any of them will ever abandon.

To relax at any time in such a cause, would be a reproach—but to relax now, when all must perceive the extensive progress of enlightened and benevolent principles in other countries, would be an indelible disgrace.

It is one of the characteristics of truth, not only to bear, but to court the closest investigation, it is the attribute of justice to be confined to no limits, to be superior to the invasion of time, in a word, to be universal and immortal—erected on these two bases, the cause of universal emancipation must ultimately triumph, unless timidity or langour should

paralyse its friends—But of all countries in the world, timidity and langour ought to find no place in America.

Declared by our constitution to be all free and equal, he who has not the courage to assert his own rights, or vindicate those of others, deserves not to be considered a citizen of this great republic—unremiting industry in the pursuit of public or particular objects is one of our national characteristics—Let it not be said, that only in the dispensation of justice to the chained African, we become languid and inert. For your labours great fields lie open, the cloud of oppression hangs over the Southern and a portion of the Western parts of the union. To promote the gradual abolition of slavery among them, and to convince them that even on a worldly calculation of their own interests, their estates would be rendered more profitable by the introduction of free labour, will perhaps be one of your efforts, and if, in addition to the establishment of this truth, they can be led to perceive that the moral and religious improvement of the slave is a christian duty, and that the master may be held severely accountable for the depravity and guilt of those from whom he has withheld the means of knowledge and instruction, we may anticipate the best effects from your labours.

We are aware of all the constitutional and legal difficulties that are to be encountered in these respects. We are also aware of the force of early habits and hereditary opinions, but in the cause of truth and justice, perseverance seldom fails of success, the gradual operation of these two cardinal principles upon the inhabitants at large, must ultimately reach the members of the legislatures. Laws now in force, bearing the sullen cast of rigour and of fear; degrading the coloured man below the brutes that graze around him in the field; punishing him for indulging the sympathies of sorrow with his fellow sufferers and subjecting him to a capricious separation from his dearest connexions in life, such laws will then be exchanged for those which will permit voluntary emancipation without immediate banishment, which will allow and encourage the education of youth and after a certain age, will confer the blessings of freedom upon them.

But while we are compelled to wait for these slow results of reason and conviction in the slave holding states, why should they be so long postponed in the District of Columbia? At the mention of that imposing name, the traveller instantly calls to mind that it is a new and separated space, carved out from the whole territory of the United States for the exclusive residence and power of the general govern-

ment, that it is bound by no ancient unalterable rules, exempted in no respect from the most absolute and comprehensive legislation which the Congress may adopt, and that when the cession took place, no reservations were made by the inhabitants or by the two states that ceded the ground, and he will consequently expect to find that all within its limits are as free as the Declaration of Independence professed all to be. How must he be distressed, how must foreign nations who hear the facts, be shocked, to find that in this very district, under the daily notice of the most august legislature perhaps in the world; not only does domestic slavery prevail with all its horrors; but the slave trade, the purchasing, selling, incarcerating and transporting the manacled, weeping, unresisting slave, are openly and shamelessly carried on, we refer the Convention to the heart-rending facts stated to the house of representatives so late as the month of January last, by our excellent fellow citizen Charles Miner, Esq. then a member of Congress, whose speech might be reprinted and circulated to advantage; and we trust they will not omit to avail themselves of the strong support to be derived from the resolution of the house of representatives of Pennsylvania, in 1828, on the same subject.

Our society has little particular information to communicate; our labours in regard to the education of youth have not been intermitted, but we cannot boast of much success; we consider it however a duty not to be relinquished, and under an impression that the natural capacities of the African descendants may with proper cultivation ascend to higher attainments than is generally supposed, we have it in contemplation to establish a school in which those who are inclined, may be so instructed as to enable them to instruct others in the higher branches of an English education.

The present state of society however, forms a considerable obstacle to the elevation of any of this class of people, and it can only be the most liberal mind that will duly appreciate the attainments, or value the merits of one whose hue is deeper than his own. Among themselves there are strong distinctions of industry, integrity and success, on one side, and of laziness, dishonesty, and poverty, on the other; but we believe the relative proportions of these opposite qualities do not depend upon colour; we may at least venture to say, that among the poor in our city, the blacks are not more depraved, or more wretched than the whites, intemperance in liquors does not appear so frequent

among them, and when we recollect that the greater part of the black population comes to us from the southward, and is composed of those whom slavery has already debased; we cannot wonder at their helpless, though not hopelss condition.

The tuition of adults is almost impracticable, it has generally proved so with the Indians, and the man of colour who on his coming among us is obliged to depend on daily labour for his bread, has little time to spare for the acquisition of the arts of reading and writing, it is even difficult to impress on him the utility of sending his children to receive instruction, since their subsequent employments are likely to resemble his own, yet we must not be discouraged by the want of complete success; we must do our duty in providing the means of instruction and leave the result to that providence which justly values the humblest efforts, founded on good intentions.

The exertions now making by the Colonization societies, may perhaps revive your attention to that interesting question, but we do not presume to suggest to the Convention any course for them to pursue.

We rely upon their wisdom, their firmness, and their moderation on all the points that will come before them, and in those sentiments, we remain with great respect, your affectionate friends.

Signed by order and on behalf of the Pennsylvania Society for the promotion of the abolition of slavery, &c.

Philadelphia, Nov. 26, 1829.

W. RAWLE, President.

THOS. RIDGWAY, Secretary.

We have appointed the following persons Delegates to the Convention, and subjoin a list of the officers, &c. of the society for the present year.

William Rawle, Esq. L. L. D. Jonas Preston, M. D. David Weatherly, Joseph Parker, Esq. James Mott, Charles S. Cope, Esq. Thomas Earle, Esq. John Bouvier, Esq. Samuel C. Sheppard, Thomas Ridgway.

Officers for the present year, viz.

President—William Rawle.

Vice President—{Jonas Preston, Benj. Tucker,

Treasurer—Henry Troth,

Secretaries—{Thomas Ridgway, Isaac Barton.

Board of Education,—Isaac Barton, Edwin P. AtLee, Thomas Earle, Joseph Evans, Joseph Parker, Thomas Parker, jr. George Peterson, Thomas Ridgway, David Weatherly, Peter Wright, Charles S. Cope, Samuel C. Sheppard, James R. Wilson.

Electing Committee,—Joseph Todhunter, Samuel Ross, James Mott, Joseph M. Truman, Marshall Atmore, Wm. Jones, Powell Stackhouse, Robert Murphy, R. Evans, Jesse Stanly, D. C. Wood, Edwin Walter.

[No. 3.]—Address from the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania.

To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race.

In the year 1827, the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania first participated, through its Delegates, in the deliberations of your philanthropic body; and supported the views which actuated its members in the organization of an institution then new to the Abolitionists of this country. Continuing with confidence to entertain the sentiment, that the principles of our association if acted on by the friends of Abolition generally, must shake to the centre the mighty structure of slavery, we rejoice in the evidences we have received of the gradual advancement of our cause.

The subject of African oppression is presenting itself to the consideration of our fellow-citizens, in a more tangible form, and its horrors are found to be easily controuled by a method unexceptionable, because fully consistent with our free institutions. It is no more than the exercise of an elective franchise, for the free man to purchase the product of the labour of freemen, in prefcrence to that of Slaves:—neither can it be construed to be any thing less than a conscientious choice between good and evil.

Among the principal causes in advancing the objects of our association. We have the pleasure to announce the establishment in the city of Philadelphia, of the Female Association for promoting the manufacture and use of free cotton. This association was instituted in January last, and consisted of thirteen females, but is now composed of more than one hundred members.

The last quarterly report of our Committee of Correspondence in allusion to the efforts of our sister institution observes "without attributing to themselves any censurable omission of duty, the committee are fully aware how little

they have been able to perform during the past three months; but they feel grateful, that while they have been apparently *inopperative*, their zealous coadjutors, the members of the Female association have been vigilantly alive to the concern, with a freshness that knows no fatigue, because it results from that purity of heart and singleness of purpose, so peculiarly the characteristic of the virtuous female; the association has continued to move onward in the career marked out by its plan of operation, undismayed by difficulties, and only restrained by the limits of its financial abilities."

To aid them in their laudable efforts our society voted them a small donation "under a conviction that so applied it would prove eminently beneficial." They have purchased a number of balls of Free Upland cotton, which has been all spun and a portion manufactured into ginghams, checks, bed-tickings, stripes, knitting and sewing cotton and cotton hose.

We have received information from Washington, N. C. that several farmers in that section of country, have commenced the cultivation of Mexican cotton, raised by freemen. The soil is found to be well adapted to its growth and produces a staple superior to all other kinds in length and fineness, and yields a greater quantity per acre.

About the time of the commencement of the Free Produce society, several stores were established in our city for the sale of such articles as were unequivocally the result of the labour of freemen. These stores continue to be maintained and receive increasing patronage.

For the satisfaction of the Convention, we subjoin the following extract from a report of one of our Grocers, viz. "Statement of amount of free sugar and molasses purchased per quarter during the current year, by C. Peirce south east corner of Third and Noble streets.

Amount purchased from Jan. 1st, to April 1st,	557 00
Amount purchased from April 1st to July 1st,	754 00
Amount purchased from July 1st to Sept. 28th,	2485 00
Making amount of purchases during the last nine months,	$ 3796 00
To which add the amount on hand January 1st,	300 00
Gives	$ 4096 00
From this deduct the amount now on hand, (about)	2000 00
Leaves the amount of sales on these two articles during the present year.	$ 2096 00

Philad. Sep. 28th 1829. JAMES L. PEIRCE.

This, it will be recollected is a report *in part*, from one individual only. What may be the whole amount of sales of those other articles of consumption, disposed of by other individuals engaged in the same and other branches of business, we are unable to state.

The above however is sufficient to prove an increasing determination to avoid any contribution to the support of slavery, and at the same time by bringing free into fair and active competition with slave labour, to demonstrate to the slave holder, that his profits would be increased by the entire employment of free men.

Having taken a concise view of the progress of our cause in this country, it may be proper to call the attention of the Convention to the proceedings of our transatlantic brethren. The efforts now making in England to destroy the system of slavery in her West India Colonies, seem mainly directed against the consumption of their products: such is the ardour with which the cause is embraced, that many thousands of the inhabitants of Great Britain scrupulously abstain from their commodities. Anti-slavery societies countenanced by men of the first rank and influence in the kingdom, are rapidly increasing; and a host of females not less respectable have risen up, so indefatigable in their efforts, that nothing is omitted which can present the hideous monster, slavery, in bold relief. Tracts are widely dissemenated among all classes of society. The albums and work-bags contain prints of slaves, under the varied heart-rending conditions in which they are placed—and committees are appointed to visit every house in some of the principal towns, to urge in the touching strains of female eloquence, the necessity of abstaining from every article "stained by the blood of the negro, and watered by his tears."

Among the numerous societies of females the Birmingham appears to be the principal. In its second report it contained the following strong appeal. "Is it for christian females to be bribed by the greater *cheapness* of this or the other article of daily consumption, to bend themselves to the support of a flagrant system of blood-guiltiness and oppression, which cries to Heaven for vengeance? And can we think the cry will not be heard? The influence of females in the minor departments (as they are usually deemed) of household affairs, is generally such, that it rests with them to determine whether the luxuries indulged in, and the conveniences enjoyed, shall come to them from the *employers* of *freemen* or from the *oppressors* of *British slaves*. When the preference is given to the latter we see therefore,

with whom the responsibility must mainly rest—we see at whose door the burden of guilt must lie. Can we do better than adopt the recorded sentiments of the highly esteemed Sir Wm. Jones, who in reference to this subject declared "let sugar be as cheap as it may, it is better to eat none, better to eat aloes or colloquintida, than violate a primary law of nature impressed on every heart not imbruted by avarice, than rob one human creature of those eternal rights of which no law on earth can justly deprive him."

As an evidence of the zeal of this institution it is proper to state, that at Birmingham, out of a population of 100,000, only one sixth part remained unvisited from house to house by the members. And that measures had been taken to pursue the same plan in London.

Thus have we endeavoured to collect together a generalised view of the progress made in the work in which we are engaged; with the hope, that something may present itself to the Convention calculated to advance this highly important auxiliary in the cause of emancipation, believing as we do, that "so long as we give our money for the productions of slavery, we give the bounty and afford the stimulus, by which it exists, and are therefore ourselves the *procurers of slavery.*"

To attend the American Convention as our delegates we appoint, Joseph Parrish, Edwin P. AtLee, Henry M. Zolickoffer, and Charles Noble.

The Names of our Officers at this time are

President—William Rawle.

Vice President—Benjamin Tucker.

Secretary—Charles Noble.

Treasurer—Henry M. Zollickoffer.

Committee of Correspondence—Joseph Parker, Chairman. William Shipley Bartram, Secretary—Abraham L. Pennock, Thomas M'Clintock, William Wayne, Edwin P. AtLee, William Wharton, David Ellis, Isaac Barton, and Thomas Shipley.

The Officers of the society are also ex-officio members of this committee.

Signed on behalf of a meeting of the Free Produce Society of Pennsylvania, held in Philadelphia, 11th mo. 19th, 1829.

JOSEPH PARKER, President pro. tem.

CHARLES NOBLE, Secretary.

[No. 4.] Address from the National Anti-Slavery Tract Society of Maryland.

To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race.

The National Anti-Slavery Tract Society, respectfully report—That since our last communication to your body, nothing of importance worthy of note as respects our society has taken place.—Such is the apathy and supineness which appears to cover our land, that all efforts towards the amelioration of the condition of the unfortunate descendants of Africa are viewed in the light of encroachment on the established order of society, for so deeply has the system of slavery become rooted in the soil, that even those who are not directly interested in its continuance, are not disposed to aid by their countenance, or afford us assistance in a pecuniary manner—and thus our usefulness is checked, and our endeavours to lay before the public the train of evils attendant on a state of slavery is retarded; yet we are not disposed to retire from the conflict, or despondingly to yield the advantages which have already been obtained. We would fain hope that the clouds and darkness which hang over our land may by the efforts of the philanthropist be dispelled, and liberty, the unalienable right of man, be awarded to all.

We have appointed, Benjamin Lundy, John Needles, Rev. William Kesly and William R. Jones, to attend the Convention.

The Officers of the Society, are as follows.

President—William R. Jones.
Corresponding Secretary—Benjamin Lundy.
Recording Secretary—William E. Morgan.

Managers—John Needles, Daniel Raymond, David Brown, Amos West, John S. Reese, William Kesly.

Signed on behalf of the Society,

WILLIAM R. JONES, President.

Baltimore, December 2d, 1829.

[No. 5.]—Address from the Washington City Abolition Society.

The Washington City Abolition Society, congratulate the friends and advocates in the cause of suffering humanity, on the assembling for the first time in this city of that venerable body, which has laboured with so much disinterested zeal for human rights—the American Convention for promoting of the abolition of slavery, &c.

We have nothing new to add, to the common observation and experience of those, who have so long lamented the evils of slavery in our country.

The internal slave trade is still extensively carried on through the district, and we earnestly recommend, if nothing else can be done, that Congress will be seriously pressed, to put a stop to this odious traffic, so degrading to our character as Americans.

To attempt an elucidation of all the evils of slavery, the disgrace to our republican professions, the immoral tendency it has on our character, the injurious effects on the industry, enterprize, and we may say to the general prosperity of our common country; would only be to repeat what has been so often said and written on the same subject. But while we deem it unnecessary to dwell on the evils of slavery. It is demanded of us to say what is to be done with those that may be emancipated, if they remain amongst us; they are it is said (and we admit it in part) "pests to society, wretched and miserable to themselves, more injurious to the community at large than if they had remained in a state of bondage; and therefore it is highly improper that any man should be emancipated unless removed at once from the country." These are *specious fallacies* well calculated to deceive and do at this time exert a powerful influence on the minds of many opposed to the system of slavery: it is therefore perceived at once that if such suggestions are admitted, slavery is to be perpetuated in the United States, for while a few honest hearted philanthropists believe in the scheme of colonizing them on the coast of Africa, (and we wish them success) it is very certain that there is not the smallest prospect of their numbers being diminished by this plan, because of the habits contracted by those accustomed to slavery, and the deception it holds out, and because no influence can be brought to bear on them so long as they are slaves: whereas if they were free and found not to answer the purposes of labourers and mechanics and therefore be-

came pests, nuisances, &c. Society displeased, dissatisfied and injured by them would be able (under providence) to provide the proper remedy by removal or otherwise: these we are persuaded must be the views of all who have a right conception of the subject.

Many slave holders begin to admit these truths "that slavery is an evil," that it is injurious to the prosperity of the country and to individuals, and say they would give them up if they only knew how. Now let us see if they are in earnest, whether some plan may not be suggested to test their sincerity. Suppose each and every individual owning slaves, lay down a rule, that by a graduated scale he will remove at his own expense, so many every year so that those having the greater number shall have removed all in twenty years from this time, let them begin at once by a course of industry and economy with those on hand; in the mean time prepare themselves and their slaves for the contemplated but certain change; We believe the blessing of God would attend such a course, and that more real enjoyment more practical benefits, would result from it than all the advantages to be derived from all the slaves on earth.

We have not the least doubt, but if Virginia, Maryland, and the District of Columbia, were disburdened of their slaves, and would introduce the same system of industry and economy pursued by the eastern states; instead of being greatly behind them as they are, with such natural advantages as they possess, they would soon equal if not exceed them in wealth and population, and consequently all those improvements which give so high a character to the eastern portion of our country.

The friends of emancipation are charged with officiousness, in, it is said, what we have no concern; when we look at slavery in the abstract, its demoralizing tendency, its injurious consequences on the industry and enterprize of those sections of country where it most extensively exists, we ask in our turn as citizens, anxious for the character and welfare of our common country; if we ought to be unconcerned at the existence of an evil which *we know* to be so *pernicious* to society, and so disgraceful to our national character?

JOHN M'CLELLAND, President.

THOMAS LEVERING, Secretary.

At a meeting of the Washington City Abolition Society, held 12th October 1829, the following persons were appointed to attend the American Convention for the abolition of slavery, &c. to be held in Washington, viz. John M'Clelland, Ulysses Ward, Jacob Janney, Robert P. Anderson, Matthew Hines, Henry Barron, Joseph C. Dawes, John M'Leod, George Crandell, and Thomas Levering.

The Officers of the Society, are

President—John M'Clelland.
Vice President—Ulysses Ward.
Recording Secretary—Thomas Levering.
Corresponding Secretary—Robert P. Anderson.
Treasurer—Josiah Bosworth.

[No. 6.]—Address from the Benevolent Society of Alexandria.

To the American Convention for promoting the Abolition of Slavery and improving the condition of the African race, to be held in Washington, the eighth of twelfth month, (December) 1829.

At a meeting of the "Benevolent Society, of Alexandria, for improving the condition of People of Colour," held on the 15th of the 10th month, (October) 1829, the following delegates were appointed to attend the ensuing session of "the American Convention," viz. Thomas Jacobs, Samuel Cornelius, Jonathan Janney, Townshend Waugh, George Drinker, Samuel M. Janney and Benjamin Hallowell.

Signed on behalf of the Society,

BENJAMIN HALLOWELL, Rec. Sec'ry.

President—Thomas Jacobs.
Vice President—Jonathan Janney.
Corresponding Secretary—Samuel M. Janney.
Recording Secretary and Treasurer—Benj. Hallowell.
Standing Committee—Thomas Jacobs, Jonathan Janney, George Drinker, Abijah Janney, Townshend Waugh, Benjamin Hallowell, Benoni Wheat, Samuel M. Janney.

[No. 7.] Address from the Manumission Society of North Carolina.

To the American Convention, for the Abolition of Slavery, to be held in Washington City, D. C. on the second Tuesday in December next.

HIGHLY ESTEEMED FRIENDS,—The return of another session of your excellent institution, affords us more than ordinary pleasure, especially as we are not only called upon to witness the glorious continuance, and we trust increasing strength of your humane and benevolent operations, but have the privilege of again participating at least in some degree, in that interchange of feeling and sentiment, which affords the strongest consolation to philanthropists, short of the glorious completion of their benevolent designs; and we doubt not, but you will be cheered, at least in a measure, on being informed, that we are still struggling with the monster, determined to continue our feeble operations in opposition to the principle and practice of slavery, while we shall be permitted to work, or until we shall have witnessed the downfall of the alarming evil of which we complain.

Nor do we believe that our labour has been in vain: for although we cannot as yet realize the extent of our earnest and laudable wishes, yet we have much to *encourage* us, and much to render us thankful to that Almighty donor of all good, that we have ever had manly and brotherly feelings excited within us, towards the shivering sons of Africa's burning and desolated land; and that prompted by a high sense of natural justice, which we believe is possessed by all men, in a greater or less degree, we have engaged in, rescuing them from *oppression* and *infamy*, by advocating the claims of justice in their favour, against the unjustifiable encroachments of *violence, rapine, and injustice*. When we reflect upon what our labours have already achieved, we have much to excite us to diligence in future—when we contemplate what yet remains to be done, we rejoice, that while many who profess friendship to our cause are in a state of lethargic inactivity, the light which we are endeavoring to disseminate is gradually illuminating and expanding the minds and awakening the dormant energies of others, who come forward to the work, with a zeal and fervor ominous in some degree of that triumph which humanity and kindness must finally obtain over cruelty and violence. That we may the better succeed in our enterprize, we have

engaged more assiduously than heretofore in spreading abroad our principles in relation to this "*awfully delicate*" subject, by which means we hope to remove the deep rooted prejudice of some; to expose the sordid avarice of others; and to overcome the ignorance (in relation to this subject) of more, which have been such insuperable bars in the way of our opperations, from our commencement, as manumitioners, until now. To do this more effectually we have taken such measures as we think will best promote a rapid and general circulation throughout the association: to effect which, the Board of Managers have eight corresponding secretaries, with their duties assigned, regularly distributed throughout the association, to assist them.

This we have undertaken from an impression that much of the indifference and neglect with which this subject is treated by many, grows out of that kind of ignorance which men generally have more by choice than necessity; but which has its seat in that want of reflection on general principles of moral rectitude and universal right, which by the by is one of the most wretched consequences in which we are involved by the fall and which can only be remedied by bringing facts to bear upon their minds, in a manner that must bring them to reflection: For we must all agree that notwithstanding, there exists much prejudice, violence and injustice in the world, yet there is much reason, humanity and benevolence constitutionally in the human character. Hence our appeals to the public, in many cases meet with a favourable reception, because made to beings possessing naturally and constitutionally above all others, a high sense of moral and natural justice. In this way, we trust that much latent energy will be enlisted in our cause, and that much of the clamorous "hue and cry" which has been raised against us will be silenced.

And on this subject we beg leave to make one suggestion to your Convention, which we think, will, if warranted by the state of the finances, prove of vital consequence to the cause of emancipation. Let a standing committee be appointed as near the centre or seat of operations as possible, for the purpose of receiving, examining, and publishing, such facts and circumstances as may be procured in relation to the subject of slavery in all its bearings; in relation to the slave trade both foreign and domestic; in relation to kidnapping; in relation to abuse of slaves by individuals; in relation to the unjust, not to say inhumanly barbarous treatment of slaves, and free negroes, also, in many cases in the slave

holding states, under unjust and iniquitous laws; and in relation to whatever may be deemed calculated to aid our glorious undertaking in any way. To afford this committee materials to act upon, let a suitable number of the most active and intelligent members of each Abolition, Manumission and Anti-Slavery societies in the United States be appointed to correspond with this committee; and to furnish said committee from time to time, with such facts and documents, as they may be able to obtain on any of the above mentioned subjects, illustrating the evils of slavery, and showing the wretched condition of the African race in the country. All this we submit to your superior judgment, to be disposed of as you may think best.

Owing to the distance, and the state of the finances of this association, being at this time supposed to be insufficient to defray our home expenses, and send a delegation to your Convention, our last association directed, the board of managers to draw up a communication, and forward it on to your Convention, together with the sum assigned by last Convention, to be paid by this association. We yet hope that the time will come when we can be personally represented in your Conventional councils, until then be assured however of our devoted attachment to the cause of humanity and justice.

The names of our officers for the present year are the following:

President—Benjamin Swaim.
Secretary—William Swaim.
Treasurer—Zimri Stuart.
Managers. { William Swaim, Amos Weaver, William Reynolds,

Signed on behalf of the Board of Managers by

WILLIAM SWAIM, *Chairman.*

PART II.—NO. 1.

CONSTITUTION

OF

THE AMERICAN CONVENTION

For promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and improving the condition of the African race.

A consideration of the injustice, immorality and impolicy of SLAVERY, having induced in various parts of the United States, the establishment of SOCIETIES for promoting its abolition, protecting that portion of the coloured population who are legally free, and improving the condition of the African race; and THEY, in order more completely to carry into effect their humane intentions, having formed an Association, composed of Delegates from each Society, have adopted for its government, the following

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

1. This Convention shall embrace every suitable occasion for advancing the common purposes of the Societies represented; it shall specially superintend the interests of the coloured population of the United States, and shall be known by the name and title of "THE AMERICAN CONVENTION FOR PROMOTING THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, AND IMPROVING THE CONDITION OF THE AFRICAN RACE."

2. The Convention shall be composed of such representatives, as the respective Societies associated to protect the rights of free persons of colour, or to promote the abolition of slavery, within the United States may think proper to appoint, provided that the number from any one Society shall not exceed ten.

3. All questions which shall come before the Convention, shall be decided by a majority of votes, except such as relate to the Constitution, and are hereafter provided for.

ARTICLE II.

1. The Convention shall meet biennially in the city of Washington, D. C. on the second Monday in January. It may adjourn from time to time, to such place as it may deem proper, and may be specially convened as is hereinafter provided.

2. A representation from three Societies shall be a quorum to transact business, but adjournments may be made by a smaller number.

ARTICLE III.

1. The Officers of the Convention shall consist of a PRESIDENT, VICE PRESIDENT, TWO SECRETARIES, A TREASURER AND THREE COUNSELLORS, who shall be elected by ballot at the stated meetings of the Convention, and at any other meetings when vacancies shall occur.

2. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Convention and preserve order therein. He shall have no vote in the decision of questions, except when there shall be an equal division.

3. The Vice President shall perform the duties of President, in the absence of that officer.

4. The Secretaries shall keep accurate minutes of the proceedings of the Convention.

5. The Treasurer shall keep the monies and other personal property of the Convention. Before he enters upon the duties of his office, he shall give to the President, for the use of the Convention, a bond in the sum of one thousand dollars, or in such other sum as the Convention may direct, for the faithful discharge of his trust. He shall furnish to the Convention at its stated meetings, and at other times when required, a statement of his accounts, and shall pay all orders drawn upon him by the Convention, or its Acting Committee.

6. The Counsellors shall be ex-officio, members of the Convention, and entitled to participate in its deliberations. They shall, when requested so to do, give their opinion upon such legal subjects, as may claim the attention of the Convention.

ARTICLE IV.

1. An Acting Committee shall be appointed at the stated meetings of the Convention, and at other times, when a new

arrangement may be expedient, to superintend and transact such business as may require attention during the recess of the Convention. They shall have power to supply any vacancies which may occur in their body.

2. The Acting Committee shall appoint a Chairman and Secretary, keep minutes of their transactions, and be subject to such rules for their government as the Convention may prescribe.

3. In case of the death or absence of any officer of the Convention, the Acting Committee, if necessary, shall make a temporary appointment to supply the vacancy during the recess of the Convention.

ARTICLE V.

1. All funds of the Convention, arising from contributions or otherwise, shall be at its sole disposal; special attention being at all times had to the exigencies of individual societies.

2. All orders drawn upon the Treasurer by the Convention shall be signed by the President, and one of the Secretaries, and those drawn by the Acting Committee, in performance of duties required by the Convention, shall be signed by their Chairman and Secretary.

ARTICLE VI.

1. Special meetings of the Convention may be called in cases of emergency, by the President, at the request of any two Societies of different States: due notice of which meetings shall be communicated by him to the several Societies, and to the Acting Committee of the Convention.

2. Additions and amendments to this Constitution shall be proposed at least *six months* previous to their adoption, and shall only be enacted with the concurrence of two thirds of the members convened.

NO. 2.

BY-LAWS.

1. As soon as a quorum of members is present, the President or in his absence the Vice President, or in the absence of both, the President appointed for the time, shall take the chair, and call the Convention to order; after which no member shall depart without leave of the presiding officer.

2. The President shall preserve order and decorum, put all motions when they are seconded, appoint all committees unless otherwise ordered, and see that all the By-Laws are observed. His decisions shall be conclusive and final, unless an appeal therefrom be made to the Convention by at least three members.

3. It shall be the duty of the Secretaries to furnish the Chairman of every committee with a copy of the Resolution under which they are appointed.

4. After the roll has been called, the order of the business shall be as follows:

The minutes of the last preceeding meeting shall be read, and if necessary corrected, as to matters of mistake or form.

Reports of committees shall be called for; after which any business may be proceeded on, at the pleasure of the Convention.

5. Every member presenting a paper to the chair, shall first state its general purport: no debate shall be entered into on any motion, unless that motion be seconded, and stated from the chair; all motions shall, if requested by two members, or by the President, be reduced to writing. No member shall speak more than twice upon any one question, without leave of the Convention, and when he does speak shall rise and address the President, from his place.

6. While a subject is under consideration, no motion shall be made, except to amend, divide, commit, or postpone it; but a motion to adjourn, shall always be in order, and shall be decided without debate.

7. Every member on a committee shall attend the call of the chairman, who shall be the first named on the committee.

8. No motion for re-consideration shall be permitted unless made and seconded by members who were in the majority on the original question; nor then, unless made at the same meeting as the decision, or at the next meeting after it.

9. The yeas and nays shall be entered on the minutes, at the request of any five members.

10. No rule of Convention shall at any time be dispensed with, unless two-thirds of the members present concur.

FINIS.